

CASSANDRA.

(*But I Hope not*)

Telling what will come of it.

NUM. I.

IN

ANSWER

TO THE

Occasional Letter.

NUM. I.

WHEREIN

The *New*-ASSOCIATIONS, &c.

Are CONSIDERED.

The Second Edition.

By Dr. Leslie. only 2 N. full.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Bookfellers of London and Westminster. 1705.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Occasional Letter*, Mark'd *Num. I.* Gave Occasion to Expect more of them. And the rather, for that this *First Letter* seems very Imperfect; And to have Reserv'd the *Proofs* of what he Asserts to a *Second Performance*.

But having waited thus long, and seeing no Prospect of that, we must take this, as it is, and make our Best of it.

There are some Particulars which are left for a *Num. II.* Not to swell this too much. But the *Contents* of it are put to this, with the *Appendix*, which serves for Both; because it will soon follow this: And that the Reader may see before-hand what he is to Expect. And it may perhaps Prompt the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, to give Us likewise a *Num. II.* Which he has Implicitly *Promis'd*. And I suppose will Perform, if he has any thing to say to this.

ERRATA.

P. 13. l. 18. for *lively* read *timely*. p. 14. l. 4. read *is that of*.



CONTENTS.

- I. **O**F *Placing the Radical Power of Government in the People.* page 1
- II. *Concerning the Laws of the Land, and our own Constitution.* p. 7
- III. *Of the King and the Three Estates.* p. 8
Of Bishops being Try'd by their Peers. p. 11
- IV. *Concerning the Limitations of Government.* p. 25
 1. *Limitations of Concession.* ibid.
Original Contract. p. 26
King's Negative Voice. p. 27
 2. *Limitations of Coercion.* p. 30
- V. *The best Security against Tyranny.* p. 31
A Notable Instance of Liberty and Property, in the Year 1642. ibid.
- VI. *Whether the Un-Reasonableness of People, or the Maladministration of Kings are most to Blame?* p. 32
- VII. *A Comparison of the Mischiefs of Tyranny and Revolution.* p. 36
- VIII. *Of Slavish Principles.* p. 38
- IX. *Of a Limited and Mix'd Monarchy.* p. 40
- X. *Character given of the New-Association.* p. 41
- XI. *Of the Calves-Head-Feasts.* p. 46
- XII. *An odious Comparison betwixt K. Ch. and K. W.* p. 49
- XIII. *What will Please the Dissenters.* p. 51
- XIV. *Their Vindication of Themselves from the Murther of K. Char. I.* p. 52
- XV. *Of their Endeavours to Restore K. Char. II.* p. 56
The Meaning of their Seeking the Lord. p. 58
- XVI. *A New and Notable Defence of Occasional Conformity.* p. 62
- XVII. *No Treason against an Hereditary King.* p. 64

C O N T E N T S.

XVIII. <i>Their Notion of Rebellion.</i>	p. 65
XIX. <i>The Sevenois Clear'd from Rebellion.</i>	p. 66
XX. <i>Who they are that Delight in War.</i>	p. 67
<i>A Postscript to Legion New-Vampt Million.</i>	p. 68

CONTENTS of NUM. II.

- I. *Several Authors Reflected upon.*
 1. *One not Nam'd.*
 2. *The Abridgement of Eusebius.*
 3. *The Preface to it.*
- II. *Of Charging Books upon Parties.*
Wherein of the Observator.
- III. *Of the Secret History.*
Wherein of Murther of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.
- IV. *The Character of an Enthusiast.*
- V. *Conclusion. Upon the Bill of Occasional Conformity.*

A P P E N D I X.

- I. *A Declaration of K. Char. II. in Scotland, 1650. With the Act of the West-Kirk. And General Lesley's Letter to Oliver Cromwell.*
- II. *A Letter concerning the present Treatment the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland meet with from the Presbyterians there.*
With some Remarks upon a Book lately Printed, Intituled, An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, May 6. 1703. And the late Address of the Kirk to Her Majesty.
- III. *The Lord Chancellor Puckering's Speech in the House of Lords, Anno 1588.*
- IV. *A late Letter from Geneva, of their nearer Approaches to the Church of England.*
- V. *The Horrid Procession of the Presbyterians at Edinburgh, March 15. 1704. For Burning the Holy Bible, &c. by the Hands of the Common-Hangman.*

Cassandra.

WHEN GOD has determin'd *Destruction* to a Nation, he takes away their *Senses*, they have *Eyes* and *See* not, *Ears*, and hear not, they will not *Understand*.

There is a Sett of Men amongst Us who are Visibly Driving on (whether themselves know it or not) the Ruin of these *Nations*; by setting up the *Principles*, and carrying on the same *Pretences*, which began and at last Completed the Bloody *Revolution* of Forty One, with the Destruction of the *Church*, the *King*, and the *Laws*.

And when their *Principles* are Examined to the Bottom; and their former *Practises* laid before them, with all the Dismal *Consequences*; it has no other Effect with them, than to Excite their *Rage* ten-fold more. They give no other *Answer* than the *Crafts-Men* at *Ephesus*, to Cry out Hours together, *Great is our Diana*!

And if this *Noise* and *Clamour* can Carry it against *Reason*, the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the known *Laws* of the *Land*, and our own Sad *Experience*, what can be the Issue, but what it was before, if not worse, as of Sins Repeated, our utter *Destruction*!

The *ten Tribes* who Revolted under *Sheba*, Return'd again: But never after their *Second* Defection under *Jeroboam*; till they were finally Cut off, and their *Name* lost upon the Earth to this Day. And it is observable, That in the Succession of Nineteen *Kings* which they had in that time, there was not one *Good*, tho' all of their own *Choosing*.

I. The Root and Foundation of all our *Republican Schemes*, and
 Of plac- Pretences for *Rebellion* is this suppos'd Radical Power in the Peo-
 ing the R- ple, as of Erecting Government at the Beginning, so to Overturn
 dical Pow- and Change it at their Pleasure.
 er of Co-
 verment
 in the Peo-
 ple.

To obviate this, the Author of the *New-Association*, Part. 2d.
Supplement. p. 4, &c. Carries Us to Matter of Fact, how *Politi-*
cal Government did Begin in the *World*: And how the *World*
 was, at first, *Divided* into several *Nations*. And shews, That
 this was not done by the *Election* of the *People*; But by that
 most Stupendious *Miracle* of the *Division* of *Tongues*; whereby
 all of one *Language* sorting together, and God placing a Go-
 vernor over them, they became a *Distinct Nation*. And he like-
 wise tells Us, That from that first *Division* of the *World* into 70
Distinct Nations and *Languages*, Mention'd in the xth of *Genesis*,
 we have the *Names* of the several *Governours* where *Histories* have
 been Preserv'd, from *Nimrod* all the way to this Present *Empe-*
ror of Germany, for Example, and so of others.

Then as to the Reason of the thing, he brings Arguments to
 shew, That Government cou'd not be Founded, nor the World
Divided into *Nations*, upon that Foot of the *Election* of the *Peo-*
ple. That this *Hypothesis* wou'd Render all Governments *Precar-*
ious, and Eternally Liable to *Change* and *Confusion*. That it was
 never yet known, nor ever can be, what is meant by the word
People, in this Scheme of Government. For the whole *People* ne-
 ver Chose. And a Part of the *People* is not the *Whole*. That the
Whole or *Half* of the *People* do not Choose those who are call'd
Representatives of the *People* in *England*. And far less in *Hol-*
land, *Venice*, or any *Republick* that is in the World. That this
 Scheme of Deriving Government from the *People*, is much more
 Destructive of the *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Safety* of *Mankind*, than
 the other Model of *Divine Right* in the *Governors*, as having their
 Power from God.

Now let Us see what is Answer'd to this, in the *Occasional*
Letter.

As to the first part, the *Original* of Government, and the *Di-*
vision of *Nations*, it is said, p. 20. That *People* were at first *Divid-*
ed out of Necessity. And supposing the Governor not to do Right
 to his *People*, They wou'd have had a Right to have proceeded to a
 New

New Choice. This supposes the first *Division* to have been by the *Election* of the *People*. And his bare saying so is all the *Proof* he brings. He Answers not a *Word* to the plain *Matter of Fact*, which is directly against him. But adds, That he *Laughs at Divine Right*. And thinks it so *Trifling an Argument*, as not to *Deserve a Serious Consideration*. He says, I cannot see any *Reason* to think that *One Man was Exalted so much above the Rest, for his own, but the Peoples sake*. That is *True*. But then there are several *Reasons* given in the *New Assoc.* Why it is best for the *People* not to have the *Choice* in themselves. And none of them are Answer'd. However this is going from *Matter of Fact* to *Reasoning*. Will they then yield the *Fact*? And let us *Reason* afterwards? He says, (*ibid.*) *That when Jacob Died, we find no manner of Superiority left to his Eldest Son Reuben*. This is *Objecting*, instead of *Answering*. What has this to do with the first *Division of Nations*? This is *Skiping* from one thing to another, without *Answering Distinctly* to any thing. This goes upon the *Point of the Primogeniture*. Which is a *Different Head of Argument*, from the *Division of Nations*; and comes in the second place, the other being first settl'd. And settl'd it is, for any thing this *Author* says to the *Contrary*. Therefore I will Answer him as to this, That he will find the *Right of the Primogeniture* fully *Asserted* in that same *Case of Reuben. Gen. XLIX. 3.* Where *Reuben*, on Account of his *Primogeniture* only, is call'd the *Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power*. But he was *Rejected* (as *Cain* and *Esau* were) for his *Wickedness*, because he *went up to his Father's Bed. ver. 4.*

He says (*ibid.*) *And when Division was made, it was by Lot*. What *Division* do's he mean? Was this the *Division of Nations*? Which is the *Point* he was to Answer. Or was it the *Division of the Holy Land* among the twelve *Tribes*, by *Joshua*? What has this to do with the *People's Choice* of their *Governours*? Was it the *Lots* supposed to be *Cast* among the *Tribes, Families, and Persons*, upon the *Election of Saul*? But he was *Anointed* by *Samuel* before that. *1 Sam. x. 1.* And it was *God* who order'd the *Lots* (if any) to be *Cast*. And the *People* knew not *Saul*, nor after the *Lot* fell upon him, where to find him. *ver. 22.* And when *God* had told them where he was, *Samuel* said to all the *People*,

See ye him whom the Lord hath Chosen. ver. 24. So that here is no Foundation for the *Election* of the *People*, but the Direct Contrary. *Saul* first Chosen by *God*. Then *Reveal'd* to *Samuel*, and by him *Anointed*. Then shew'd to the *People* by him. Whether any *Lots* were Cast in the Case is not Certain, for there is no mention of it in the *Text*; only said that such a *Tribe*, such a *Family*, and such a *Person* was *Taken*. For ought we know, *Samuel* himself Nam'd them all. But that is not *Material*. For however it was, it was by *God's* exprefs ordering, without any *Election* of the *People*, as to the *Person*.

However this is Foreign to the first *Division* of *Nations*, and the *Original* of *Political Government*, upon which the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* do's Insist. And gives this Reason for it, p. 9. *That all Factions have Recourse to this, when they are about to Unhinge and Over-turn settled Constitutions.* For the *Original Power* of *People* in *General* is not to be taken from the special Dispensation given to any one *Nation*, or *Particular People*; but from the Rights of *Mankind*, Consider'd in their *Natural State*. And whether the first *Division* of *Nations*, and *Original* of *Political Government* among *Men*, arose from *Mankind* in this Suppos'd State of *Nature*, and by their own *Free and Voluntary Election*: Or, Whether by the *Institution* of *God*, without the *Election* of the *People*? Is the Question we are Concern'd to Discuss. For if the *Latter* be the Case, Then the *People* have no *Original Rights* to Claim, as to the Disposition of *Governments*.

But, says the *Occasionalist*, p. 17. suppose *That Governments were from the Beginning Instituted by God, and That he set a Ruler over every Nation.*—— *The People had as much a Divine Right to their Rulers Protection, as they had a Right to Govern.* And let us (says he) put *Matters upon this Foot, I shall be ready enough to Grant a Divine Right.*

Well then, we will put *Matters upon this Foot*! Now see if we can agree.

I Grant therefore, That *People* have a *Right* to the *Protection* of their *Governours*. And a *Property* in their *Possessions*. And by the *Divine Law*. Infomuch that if their *Rulers*, whom *God* has set over them, do *Invade* their *Rights*, they make themselves obnoxious to the *Divine Law*, and to the *Judgment* of *God*, for so doing.

But

But now the Question still Remains, Whether the *People* in such a Case, can Right themselves, by taking *Arms* against their *Governours*? By *Deposing* them, and *Choosing* others in their Room? And for the *Negative*, these Reasons are Urg'd in the *New Association*.

1. That the *Right* of the *Governours* being *Divine*, must, upon no Account, be *Invaded*. And that we make our selves *Obnoxious* to the *Divine Vengeance*, if we *Invade* his *Right*! As he do's, if he *Invades* ours.

2. That we cannot take *Arms* and *Depose* him, without *Assuming* the *Power* of *Government* to our selves; which upon the *Scheme* now suppos'd, is *Usurping* the *Sword* of *God*, which He never gave Us. And Consequently a *Rebellion* against *God*. Putting our selves in his Place. And a *Dissolving* of the *Constitution* which he has *Ordain'd* to *Represent* Himself; and by which he do's *Govern* the *World*.

3. That by *Un-hinging* of *Government*, and putting it in the *People*, we shall bring *Greater Mischiefs* upon our selves, than those we seek to *Avoid* under our *Governours* of *God's* Appointment. And our *Confusions* can have no End, in that *Frame* of Things: Because the *Centre* of *Government* can never be *Fix'd* in the *People*; that being a word of no *Certain Denomination*. And *Contenting* Parties may *Fight* it out, upon *Equal Claim* of *Right*, to the End of the *World*. Therefore that there can be no lasting *Settlement*, no *Security*, but in a *Divine Right*, to which all ought to *Submit*.

4. Let me add, That our *Lives* are only at *God's* Disposal who gave them. He has not left them in our own *Power*. Therefore we cannot by any *Acts* of ours, give that to others, which we have not our selves; Give to any other a *Power* over our *Lives*. And Consequently the *Power* of *Life* and *Death* can never be given by the *Election* of *People*; or any other ways than by a *Divine Right*; without which there can be no *Obligation*, of *Conscience*, to obey any *Government*, or not to *Overturn* it, if I can *Gain* a *Stronger Party* to my Side; for then it is the *People*! And if the lesser Number *Prevail*, they are the *People*; and the *Ballance* of *Power* is on their Side! The *Minor* may be the *Potior pars*. And setting aside *Divine Authority*, I know no
Man.

Man has *Power* over me, more than I over him; since *Nature* has put us all upon a *Level*. And I will break loose from, when I can, as from a *Robber*; and so may he from me. And if the *Major Number* say, you may *Quit* the Country, if you like not the *Frame* and *Constitution* which we have *Voted*. I will say, No. Who gave you *Power* to *Banish* me my Country? It is my Country as well as yours. And for the *Major Vote*, the *Greatest Part* of the World are *Knaves* and *Fools*. I am *Born Free*, and no Man has *Right* to take my *Freedom* from me. And if I can gather a *Party*, tho' *Fewer*, we will *Fight* you for it. I grant we do it at our *Peril*. But what I say, is, That there is no *Obligation* of *Conscience* on either side. There is no such thing as *Right* and *Wrong*, as *Just* or *Unjust*. Nor can there be any *Settlement* of *Government*, till we come to a *Divine Right*. To what else should I give up my *Life* or my *Liberty*, if I can *Preserve* them? Tho' I should do it, by overturning twenty *Governments* that stand upon no other *Foundation* than what I carry within my own *Breast*, that is, the *Original Right* and *Freedom* of *Mankind*. By which *Two Men* have no other *Power* over *One*, but *Force*. And that may be *Repell'd* by *Force*. Here is no *Authority*, to which I ought to *Obey*, for *Conscience* sake.

As to the *Case* of *Usurpers* and *Common-Wealths*, it is Answer'd in the *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 9. That the *Government* in *Being* has the *Right*, where there is none who *Claim* a *Better Right*. But this not from the *Election* of the *People*, if that were *Suppos'd*, for no *Government* or *Constitution* was ever yet set up by the *Free* and *Equal Election* of *All the People*: But as *Possessing* that *Autho- rity*, which *God* at first *Founded* in the *division* of *Nations*, and *Design'd* to continue to the *End* of the *World*. If those in *Possession* came wrongfully by it, they will Answer it to *God*. But still it is theirs of *Right*, where none *Claim* a *better Right* to it than they have. As a *Man* who *Steals* a *Hat*, has a *Right* to it against any but the *Owner*; so that if any others take it from him by *Force*, it is *Robbery* in them. And yet the *Act* of *Robbery* always *Remains* a *Sin*. And notwithstanding, *Possession* gives a *Right*, against all who have not a *Better Right*. And this arises from the *Necessity* of *Government*, which *God Himself* at first did *Institute*, and *Ordain'd* to *Continue*. And which never yet

yet did, or ever can Devolve to the People. For that would be perfect *Anarchy*; which, as my Ld. Bp. of Sarum well says, *Vindicta Opens a Door to Endless Confusions, which will never admit of Order or Remedy.* And he makes it worse than putting the Power into the Hands of the most Cruel Tyrant, even of the Pope himself. Vindicta of the Church and State of Scotland p 68, 69.

Now let us see what the *Occasional Letter* says to these things. It says thus, p. 20. *And how unfit this Writer may imagine a Heady Multitude to be, to fix upon Order or Government, yet 'tis certain, that Necessity will bring them to it; and it will be strange, if there should not be among them some, that have Heads wise enough to Invent a Scheme, for their Security and Protection, which the largest part will Agree to: And the Rest, if they please, may separate and remove, where they think to be better Govern'd.*

Now instead of this being an *Answer* to what is Advanc'd in the *New Assoc.* (Part of which is set down before) *That is a Direct Answer to This.* And it is shew'd there, That there can be no such *Scheme* Invented, by any *Heads* how *Wise* soever. Why will they not shew such a *Scheme* to Us? They have been long about it! And many *Schemes* have they made. Yet none will Hold! They can never make one, upon the Foot of the People, that is not altogether *Precarious, Nonsense, and Contradiction.* That can give any *Basis* or *Settlement* to *Government*: Or oblige any to submit for *Conscience* sake: Nay farther, That do's not Destroy and Utterly Subvert their *Beloved* and *Foundation-Principle* of the *Original Freedom* and *Independence* of the People; Since all these *Schemes* end in a *Force* upon those, who will not Comply with their *Constitution*.

And all the *Answer* hitherto given by these *Scheme-Mongers*, is only to say, They are sure there may be such a *Scheme*! And it were Strange (as this Author says) *if there should not!*

Finding no Relief in *Arguments* or *Schemes*, he produces an *Instance*, which he thinks none Dare Answer. He Represents our *Constitution* and the *Laws*, as Founded upon the People. Then Proves that this Cannot be *Jure Divino*. And so his Point is Gain'd ———! II. Concerning the Laws of the Land, and our own Constitution.

I shall the more willingly Answer this, because many are Deceiv'd by it; And understand not our *Constitution* or the *Laws*, or Wilfully *Mistake* them.

He

He begins, p. 16. with making the *Queen*, (or *King*) *Lords*, and *Commons*, the *Three Estates*. And makes the *Ballance of Power* to Consist in their good Agreement. But says he, If either grows *Arbitrary*, and Breaks through their Bounds at Pleasure, then *Publick Liberty* is indeed in Danger, and we know not where to Look for it. But when the Regular order is observ'd, then 'tis very Easie to know where to find it. Here the Centre of Government is plac'd; and I hope will long Continue, Notwithstanding all the Trifling, Groundless Pretences of a *Jus Divinum* to prove it Unlawful.

Here is a Centre indeed, and a Ballance! One would think he were Playing Booty! He makes *Three Co-ordinate Powers*, each at Liberty to *Encroach* upon the other, and Gain more of the *Ballance* to themselves; and if these, or any One of them should Differ with the Other; then he Confesses there is no Centre or *Ballance* at all! There is no Judge betwixt them, the *Sword* must Decide it.

Is it then a thing so Rare to be found; was it never Heard of, that *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* should Differ about their several *Powers*, *Privileges*, and *Prerogative*?

Especially Considering that in the second Part of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 11. Which this Author is here Answering, that same *Treatise* which in this very Page, p. 16. He calls a *Learned* and *Judicious* One, is Quoted, saying, That in the whole Compass of *History*, no one single Example can be brought, of any One popular Assembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever sate down Quietly with a Certain share. And that no One Instance could be produc'd, of a Popular Assembly that ever Knew, or Propos'd, or Declar'd what share of Power was their Due. And concludes, That there is no Hopes of this Matter being Adjusted.

Now let this Author Answer his own *Learned* and *Judicious Treatise*; Or otherwise Confess, That his Centre and *Ballance* of Power is Impracticable, of which no Instance can be given in *History*; And no Method possible to be Prescrib'd for it, since none of the *Ballancers* do Know, and therefore cannot Agree what share of Power is their Due.

III.
of the
King, and
the Three
Estates.

To make out this *Ridiculous Scheme* of Government, our Modern *Ballancers* of Power have Reviv'd again (and for the same Ends) the Trayterous and long since Exploded Notion of their *Predecessors*

cessors in the Rebellion of Forty One, That the King is a Part of the Parliament, and One of the Three Estates of Parliament; and so Co-ordinate with the Two Houses of Lords and Commons. That having thus brought him to a Level with his Subjects, they might the more easily Depose him.

This they Proclaim'd aloud in their Observators, and often Repeated. Which being fully and Judiciously Answer'd in the *Herackitus*, Num. 10, 12, 13. That the King is none of the Three Estates, and several Acts of Parliament Quoted, which makes it clear past Contradiction, or other Answer from the Observer, than his Buffoonry, after this manner, *Let me have my Queen, (as he Insolently, and in Ridicule Treats Her Majesty) and Lords, and Commons, and let him have as many Estates as he will.*

But I was surpriz'd to find this Author of the Occasional Letter (whom I suppose of an Higher Figure) to Chime in with such Senseless Scriblers, and to Trump up this Jargon again upon Us! There must be some Design on Foot! If he had kept the Church, he might have found a Solution of this Point, in the Office for Gunpowder-Treason (which is likewise an Act of Parliament) where we Bless God for Preserving the King, and the Three Estates of this Realm, Assembled in Parliament.

Who these Estates are, is plainly set down, 24 H. 8. c. 12. The first are the Prelates or Lords Spiritual, Representing the Body Spiritual. The second are the Temporal Nobility, who sit in the same House with the Spiritual Nobility, as they are call'd 26 H. 8. c. 2. The Nobles Spiritual and Temporal. And the third Estate are the Commons. Thus say they to the King, 25 H. 8. c. 21. *Tour Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons, Representing the whole State of your Realm,* But for the King, in the foresaid Statute, 24 H. 8. c. 12. He is call'd the One Supreme Head and King — Unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of Spirituality and Temporality, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a Natural and Humble Obedience. He being also Instituted and furnished by the Goodness and Sufferance of Almighty God, with Plenary, Whole, and Entire Power, Pre-eminence, Authority, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, to Render and Yield Justice, and final Determination to all manner of Folk, Resiants or Subjects within this his Realm, in all Causes, Matters, Debates, and Contentions, &c.

Now

C

Here

Here is a *Dernier Resort*, and *Centre of Government*.

And here the *Body of the People* is Divided into Two *Branches* of *Spirituality* and *Temporality*. Of the *Temporality* there are two *Estates*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*. But the *Body Spiritual* is a *Distinct Estate* by it self, and the *First* of the *Three*. And it is more *Distinct* from the other *Two*, than they are from each other, as differing from them, in a *Specificcal Manner*; for they *Both* are Comprehended under one Denomination of *Temporality*, and are the several *Parts* of it; whereas the *Spirituality* is of a *Different Nature*, and *In-communicable*, with the other.

And this was made very Apparent, in that the *Body Spiritual* were not *Taxable* by *King* and *Parliament*, but only by *Themselves*. The *Possessions* of the *Church* being Reckon'd the *Patrimony of God*, being *Dedicated* to *Him* and to His *Church*; And therefore no *Temporal Power* could lay their Hands upon it, under *Peril of Sacrilege*.

And the *Clergy* were never *Taxed* but by *Convocation*, till the *Curfed Revolution* of *Forty One*, which overturn'd all *Foundations*. And after the *Restoration*, when, before things cou'd be Sett'l'd upon the *Old Foot*, the *Taxings* us'd by the *Usurpers*, was (for the *Present* only Intended to be) Continu'd. In the first *Act of Parliament*, which *Taxed* the *Clergy* in Common with the *Laity*, there is an *Exprefs Proviso*, Saving to the *Clergy*, their Antient and Undoubted *Right of Taxing Themselves*. But a *Precedent* once Made, it has been carry'd on to this Day.

And as the *Possessions*, so much more the *Persons* of the *Clergy* were Esteem'd so *Sacred*, as that, if any of them were Guilty of a *Capital Crime*, or which Deserv'd a *Personal Shame* or *Punishment*, Care was taken to Preserve the *Character* from Sharing in the *Disgrace*, by the *Person's* being first *Degraded* by his *Spiritual* Superiors, and so Deliver'd up as a *Lay-Man* to the *Brachium Seculare*.

If the *Church* wou'd not Deliver him up, there is no Reason that he should Escape the *Judgment* of the *Law*, as it was in the times of *Popery*. But it is Highly Reasonable that should be Try'd. If the *Church* Refuses, it is her Fault. And it is very Improbable She wou'd Refuse what Conduc'd so much to the Preserving of her *Authority* and *Reputation*.

Wou'd

Wou'd it be *Decent* to see a *Clergy-Man* Hang'd in his *Gown* ?
And were it not fit some other Hand shou'd *Dis-Robe* him,
than the *Executioner* ?

The *Canonical Habit* is not so *Sacred* as the *Character*.

We have seen *Clergy-Men* both *Whipp'd* and *Pillory'd*, and
Hang'd too, within these few *Years*, without being *Degraded*, or
the *Question* so much as *Ask'd* at their *Bishops*, or perhaps their
Knowing it, but as others, from the *Publick News*.

Tho' the *Exemption* of *Clergy-Men* from the *Secular Power*,
even in *Secular Causes*, was an *Unreasonable* and *Unjust Usurpation*
of *Popery* ; yet *Christianity*, and *Regard* to *Religion* in *General*,
do's *Require*, That the *Ministers* thereof, should be so far *Ex-*
empted from *Publick Contempt*, as that when they suffer for
Personal Crimes, their *Punishment* shou'd be only *Personal*, and
their *Profession* not *Suffer* with them.

However, while the *Laws* so stood, no *Clergy-Man*, till *Re-*
duc'd to a *Lay-Man*, cou'd be *Try'd* by *Lay-Men*. Which *Abun-*
dantly shews the *Spirituality* to be a *Distinct Estate*.

And by the way, this seems a full *Confutation* of that (with *Of Bishops*
Submission) *Vulgar Error*, even amongst our *Lawyers*, That a *Bi-* *being Try-*
shop has all the *Privileges* of other *Peers*, except that of being *Try'd* *ed by their*
by his *Peers*. For which the *Reason* given is, That there is no *Peers.*
Precedent for it in our *Law*. How cou'd there, when a *Bishop*
cou'd not be *Try'd* at all, but by his *Fellow-Bishops* ? These only
were *Reckon'd* his *Peers*, as being *Members* of the *First Estate* :
And no *Member* of one *Estate*, is to be *Try'd* by any other *Estate*,
But when a *Bishop* was *Degraded*, he was put out of that *Estate*,
and *Reduc'd* to a plain *Commoner*, and *Try'd* as such. The same
as if a *Temporal Peer* were *degraded*. There are *Temporal Peers*
whose *Honours* are *Annex'd* to such a *Castle* or *Mannor*, which if
they *Sell*, they *Lose* their *Honour* and *Peerage*. And after are to
be *Try'd* by their then *Peers*, the *Commons*. I take the *Cases* to
be *Parallel*. And tho' the *Bishops* are mostly *Reduc'd* to the
Temporal Peerage, except the *Privilege* of *Absenting*, if they
Pleaze, in *Tryals* of *Blood* ; yet surely they are not brought below
that *Peerage*, while they *Retain* some *Privileges* still above it.
And while a *Bishop* is a *Peer*, he must have all the *Privileges* of
the *Peerage* ; unless what is taken away by *Act* of *Parliament*.

For what else can take it away? See the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* his *Grand Question*.

But to return. Tho' the *Body Spiritual* ever was, and is still so Distinguishingly the *First* of the *Three Estates*, yet it is but Part of the *Body* of the *Realm*. The *King*, and he *Only*, is the *Head* of the *Realm*.

And the *Crown* belongs to Him *Alone*, without any *Partners*. And is in no *Earthly Subjection*, as it is Declar'd, 16 *Rich.* 2. c. 5. *That the Crown of England has been so Free at all times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but Immediately Subject to God, in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.* Then surely not to his Subjects. As the *Three Estates* are.

And thus they Stile themselves, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. Where *Both Houses of Parliament*, the *Lords Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, and *Commons* say to Her Majesty, *We your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, Representing the Three Estates of your Realm of England, &c.*

Many other *Statutes* may be Quoted to this Purpose. But it is strange that *Clamour* has not been silenc'd, by the *Act* (yet *Un-Repeal'd*) of 12 *Car.* 2. c. 30. Which was made on purpose against the *Trayterous Principles* and *Pretences* of *Forty One*, particularly this of making the *King* Co-ordinate with the *Two Houses of Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Estates*; and explaining the former *Laws* in this Point. And there it is declar'd, *That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coërcive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

And 13 *Car.* 2. c. 1. It is made *Premunire*, either by *Writing*, *Printing*, *Preaching*, or other *Speaking*, to *Declare* or *Affirm*, *That both Houses of Parliament, or either Houses of Parliament, have, or hath a Legislative Power, without the King, or any other Words to the same Effect.*

Again, in the same *Statute.* cap. 6. *That the Power of the Sword is solely in the King; And that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; Nor can, nor Lawfully may Raise or Levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against*

against His Majesty, His Heirs, or Lawful Successors; and yet the contrary thereof hath of late Years been practised, almost to the Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom; and during the late Usurp'd Governments, many Evil and Rebellious Principles have been distilled into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom, which, unless prevented, may break forth to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof.

And cap. I. It is said, That the Growth and Encrease of the late Troubles and Disorders, did in a very great Measure proceed from a Multitude of Seditious Sermons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily Preached and Published, with a Transcendent Boldness defaming the Person and Government of your Majesty, and your Royal Father, wherein Men were too much Encourag'd: And above all, from the Wilful Mistake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and Maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths, and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which in themselves had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them; from which kind of Distempers, as the present Age is not yet wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to Relapse into them, if a lively Remedy be not provided, &c.

I think enough has been said to clear the Sense of the Law in this Point, of the King being One of the Three Estates, and Coordinate with the other Two. Which wou'd make such a Centre and Ballance of Power, as three Kings of Brandford! For indeed, it is setting up three Kings. What else are three Powers, each Independent and Un-accountable to Either or Both of the other? And, as our Author before Quoted says, when none of them Know, nor will Determine what Share of the Ballance of Power is their Due.

This is the Curious Watch we are told of in Dr. K — t's late Thanksgiving Sermon upon the 31st. of January 1704. Which, the oftner it is out of Order, shews the Greater Delicacy in the Stricture!

There is such a Curious Watch now set-up to Auction in Poland. And our Whigs bid fair for it, to have it brought over hither, as a Regulator to our Time of the Day!

What a Curious thing would it be, if Thirty two Palatines, and every Man in Poland (of whom each has a Negative) should all Agree to a Tittle!

But:

But if One starts out of the way, there is a *Pin* lost in the *Watch*, and all is out of Order! Which shews the *Stricture* to be Most *Delicate*!

Such is of the *Power* of the *People* with Us, which every Man may set-up, for or against *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*, as he thinks fit. And *Legion* against them All! Of which there is a New *Edition* just now come out, with *Additions* of *Millions*.

The *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* having Dress'd up the *Constitution* of *England* in such a *Frame* as this, had Reason to say, as he do's in the same *Page* before Quoted, p. 16. Now this *Government* of ours so Modelled, can Never be said to be Deriv'd to us by any *Divine Right*. No indeed! Nor by any *Right*, or even *Common Sense*! But this is come upon him and his New *Accomplices*, as the words of the *Act* of *Parliament* before Quoted says, from a wilful *Mistake* of the *Supreme* and *Lawful Authority*.

But he goes on, and says, p. 17. I fancy those that Contend most for the *Divine Right* of *Kings*, will Allow that their *Monarchs* cannot Lawfully be Limited by the *People*, as I am sure ours are.

Now suppose another should be as *Positive* as you are? And as *Sure*, that you Cannot be *Sure*! For however your *Monarchs*, as you Call them, or Wou'd have them, are Limited, I am sure it is not by the *People*. But by a *Party*, that call themselves the *People*, as every other *Party* of the *People* may, and always do, when they Rise-up to Overturn *Governments*.

You may say, the *People* are Represented as well as you can Contrive. That may be. But you can never Contrive it. How are they Represented, when much the *Major Number* have no *Vote* in the *Election*? How can it be, When, according to the *Scheme* of *Power* in the *People*, the Consent of every *Individual* is Necessary? As Mr. L.—K. makes it out in his so much Fam'd *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2. Chap. 8. p. 316. Printed, 1690. But in this *Sense*, the *People* are such an *Unweildy Body*, that they can do nothing, can do no *Act*, either *Good* or *Bad*! Not so much as to Ask, *What's a Clock*?

But

But in the Position of which you are so Sure, there is the word *Lawfully*, — *Cannot Lawfully be Limited?* — Now if by *Lawfully* you mean, according to the *Law* of the *Land*, you are Determin'd by the *Act* of *Parliament* just now quoted, which makes it *Unlawful* for Either or Both *Houses* of *Parliament*, or for the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively* to have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

But if by *Lawful*, you mean not the *Law* of the *Land*, but the *Law* of *Nature*, by which *Government* was first Erected among *Mankind*; then you must come to the *Original*, and the first *Division* of *Nations*. And see if you can give a Plainer Account of it, and better *Vouch'd*, than the *New Assoc.* has shew'd from *Genesis*. To which you have given no Answer. And let me add, that this *Division* of *Nations* was not brought to pass *Gradually*, in a long *Tract* of *Time*, and in several *Ages*, as *People* Multiply'd and Spread over the Earth: But it was one *Act*, done at one *Time*, by that most Astonishing *Miracle* of the *Division* of *Tongues*, which did Distinguish the *Nations*. And that this was a most Remarkable *Time*, and Greatly *Notic'd*, appears from *Gen. x. 25.* When the Name of *Peleg* (which signifies *Division*) was given to the Son of *Eber*, for, as the *Text* says, *In his Days was the Earth Divided.* This was one of the most Memorable *Eraes* of the World. And ought not to be Forgotten by Us. How can it be Forgotten, while the *Mark* of it still Remains with Us, that is, the Multiplicity of *Languages*? But it is Forgotten! And the best Reason I can Assign for it, is, That our *Republican Vertuoso's*, who are generally *Deists*, are better vers'd in *Heathen Authors*, than in the *Holy Scriptures*; which they seldom Read, but to *Ridicule*, or pick *Holes* in them. They are not in the Class of their *Belle Lettre*. And *Horace* or *Tacitus* is a better *Text* with them, than *Genesis*. But as there is no *Heathen Author* Extant so Antient as *Moses*, so likewise (as we are told in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 8.) there is no *Heathen History* whatsoever, wherein there is the least *Footstep* or *Umbrage* of this *Independent Condition* of *Mankind*, when they were All in this suppos'd State of *Nature*, without any *Government* among them. Therefore these *Scheme-Makers* go to their own *Brains*, and Invent, Contrive, and Fancy such *Times* and *Circumstances* of

of Mankind, as never were in the World! And from thence (to shew their *Ingenuity*) Frame such *Models* and *Originals* of *Government*, as are all *Impossibilities*! And at the same time, call this Account from *Genesis*, a *Precarious Supposition*. As this *Occasional Letter* does, p. 17. If the History of *Genesis* be *Precarious* with Them, they are desir'd to shew a *Better* on their side.

And this is not meer Matter of *Speculation*. It is of the Highest *Importance* to have it *Settl'd* and *Determin'd*. Because it is the only *Asylum* to which our *Mutinous* and *Seditious Spirits* do fly, when they are about making *Insurrections*, and disturbing of *Government*.

For no *Constitution* can be broken by its own *Laws*, which were made to *Preserve* it. You see in what is before Quoted, how *Positive* and *Express* our own *Laws* are, in *Barring* out all the *Pretences* of *Rebellion*. Therefore the *Seditious* will not be *Determin'd* by our *Laws* or *Constitution*; but fly *Higher*, to the *Original* of *Government* in the World. And there they think they have *Scope* enough to *Amuse*, and *Suppose* just to their own *Humour*! Therefore, as they have stated the *Case*, this is the very *Jugulum Causæ*. It is the first *Step* we must take, and then the rest will go on more *smoothly*.

Let them then give an *Account*, and name the *Time*, when *Political Government* began in the *World*; And *How*, and by what *Methods* the *World* was *Divided* into several *Nations*. Whether this was done by an *Equal Poll* or *Vote* of the whole *World* gather'd together; or their *Votes* sent from *far*, to set the *Bounds* and *Meres* of every *Country*, and *Determine* who and who should live in each, in the *Worst* Countries, as well as the *Best*; and who should be the *Ruler* in each *Country*? Let them shew this, or make it *Possible*, upon the *Foot* of the *People*!

Now in the *New Assoc.* in the Place last Quoted, there is an Attempt made to shew every one of these Particulars. First, That it was *The most High*, who *Divided the Nations*. Deut. xxxii. 8. Secondly, That it was done by the *Division* of *Languages*. That they were *Divided*, after their *Tongues*, in their *Countries*, and in their *Nations*. Gen. x. 20. Thirdly, That in the *Division* of the *Nations* of the *Whole Earth*, He (God) set a *Ruler* over every *People*. Ecclus. xvii. 17. Fourthly, That this was done in the Days

Days of *Eber*, which made him call his Son *Peleg*, For in his Days was the Earth Divided. Gen. x. 25.

We are told likewise in the same Place of the *New Assoc.* That this was about an Hundred Years after the *Flood*; when *Mankind* were so *Encreased*, as to be thus *Divided*. Before which Time, we may well suppose that *Noah* had the Supreme Government. Tho' several *Families* might be *Manumitted*, and have a distinct Government of their own, under the several *Heads* of *Families*, yet with a Due *Subordination* to their Common Parent. But before this Time of the *Division* of the *Earth*, we Read no where of *Nations*. And therefore we may take the Rise of *Political* Government from this *Original*. And we must stick to it, till our *Popular Orators* can shew a Better.

But the great Prejudice remains still, That if the *Original* of *Political Government*, be thus immediately from *Divine Institution*: *Concerning the Limitations of Government.* And that every *Ruler* now, (where there is no *Competition* by any other, who claims a Better *Right* than he in *Possession*) do's succeed to the same *Divine Right* which God gave to the first *Rulers*, whom he Plac'd over every *People*, at the first *Division* of *Nations*: Then it will follow, That no *Ruler* can be *Limited* by the *People*, or *Any* of them; and consequently, That all *Governments* must be *Absolute* and *Arbitrary*. Which makes a Dreadful Sound to *English Ears*!

This is the meaning of what is before Quoted out of this Occasional Letter, p. 17. I fancy those that Contend most for the *Divine Right of Kings*, will allow that their *Monarchs* cannot Lawfully be Limited by the *People*.

As to the *Lawfulness*, and by what *Law*, I have spoke already. But that this may not seem a *Put off*, I will Answer more Directly.

There are *Limitations* of *Concession*, and *Limitations* of *Coertion*. *Limitations of Concession.* The first sort as well as the last, are always given by *Superiors* to their *Inferiors*. Thus the Great God is Pleas'd to Limit Himself, when he makes *Covenants*, and grants *Conditions* to *Mankind*. And is Oblig'd by His *Veracity*, to Perform them.

Thus *Fathers* may Limit themselves to their *Children*.

D

And

And thus, *Kings* may *Limit* themselves to their *Subjects*. By Granting them such and such *Laws*. And giving them the Assurance of their Solemn *Oaths* to observe them.

Original
Contract.

And this is all the *Original Contract* can be shew'd betwixt *Kings* and *People*. But it is neither *Original*, nor *Contract*.

First, not *Original*. Because *Laws* are made by *Kings*. Therefore *Kings* must be before *Laws*. Let the *Law* be Produc'd that made the first *King*; even here in *England*. We have been under *Kings*, as far as *History* can carry Us. And all the *Laws* that we have, have been made by *Kings*.

Our *Parliaments* do *Recognize* our *Kings*. See the *Acts of Recognition*, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. And 1 *Jac.* c. 1. Where the *Parliament* acknowledges their Prior *Right* from the *Proximity* of *Blood*; which is call'd the *Law* of *God*, as well as of *Man*. These *Parliaments* did not Pretend to *Make* them *Kings*, or to *Bestow* the *Crown*, as at their *Disposal*. But did, in most *Humble Manner*, *Recognize* and *Acknowledge* their *Right*, as from *God*. And thereunto (says the *Parliament*) *We* most *Humbly* and *Faithfully* do *Submit* and *Oblige* our selves, our *Heirs* and *Posterity* for *Ever*, until the last Drop of our *Bloods* be spent.

Secondly, *Laws* which *Kings* make, are no *Contracts*. They are wholly *Concessions* on one side. On the side of the *King*. Our *Magna Charta*, which begins our *Statute-Book*, is *Wholly* and *Solely* from the *King*. And express'd to be *Granted* of his *Meer* and *Free-Will*.

Afterwards the *Lords* or the *Commons* did *humbly Petition* to the *King*, that such *Laws* should be made. As the *Stile* of our former *Acts* of *Parliament* do's shew.

Be it *Enacted* by the *King*, or Our *Sovereign Lord* the *King* hath *Ordain'd*, by the *Advice* of the *Lords*, and the *Humble Petition* of the *Commons*, &c.

The *Lords* might *Advise*, and the *Commons* may *Petition*, but the *Enacting* Part is onely in the *King*. He *Enacts* with their *Advice*, not *They* with *His*. He only is *Sovereign*, in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*.

Not

Not by way of having a *Negative Voice*, as one of the *Three* ^{King's} *Co-Ordinate Powers* (according to the *Stile* of *Forty One*, and of *Negative* ^{Voice.} our *Present Whigs*) for *Three*, or *Threescore* *Negatives* cannot make an *Affirmative*. A *Negative* is only saying, *This shall not be a Law*. But who has Power to say, *This shall be a Law*? And whose saying so, do's make it a *Law*? That is only the *King*. Whose *Fiat* stamps the *Authority* of a *Law* upon what the *three Estates* have *Prepar'd*. And if he *likes* it not, he may *Reject* it. The *three Estates* may bring *Bullion*: But it is the *Impression* of the *King's Image*, and *Superscription*, and That *only* which makes it *Coin*. And it is *Treason* to *Counterfeit* it.

Now tho' the *King* has *limited* himself: by way of *Concession*, not to make *Laws* without the *Three Estates*: Yet he has not *Parted* with any of his *Prerogative* to them. Nor *Parcell'd* out the *Supreme Power* among these *Estates*, as some foolishly think.

For all *Power* is one and *In-Divisible*, whether in the *Hands* of *One* or *Many*. There must be a *Dernier Resort*, or there can be no *Government*. And where this is in an *Assembly*, that *Assembly* is one *Body*, as one *Person*. And the *Particular Persons* who *Compose* that *Assembly*, have not the *Power* shar'd among them, none of them have any *Part* of the *Power* at all. For the *Act* of the *Body* only is the *Law*.

Now in such a *Constitution* it is necessary, that every *Member* of this *Assembly* should have *Free* and *Equal Vote*, That one should not have a *Commanding Power* over another. Nor the *Power* of *One* be *Deriv'd* from *Another*. But every *Member* sits there, by the same *Authority*.

But how different is this from our *Constitution*? Where the *King* is *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, and his *Crown Imperial*! Where both *Houses* of *Lords* and *Commons* stile Themselves His *Majesty's* Most *Dutiful* and *Loyal Subjects*! And take *Oaths* of *Allegiance* to him, Asserting him to be the *Only Supreme Governor*, in *all Causes*, and over *all Persons*.

Whose *Authority* gives *Being* to, and *Creates* the *Parliament*. And *Dissolves* them at his *Pleasure*, with the *Breath* of his *Mouth*!

Insomuch that the same *Persons* Meeting without his *Authority*, are an *Un-lawful Assembly*, and Punishable by the *Law*!

How then can this *Authority* be *Deriv'd* from *Them*! Can the *Creature* make its *Creator*!

Are They then Co-Ordinate Powers with Him, who Derive what Authority they have from Him!

And as the King may bring what Persons he Pleases into the House of Lords, without asking their Consent; He has not so far yet Limited Himself: So the Limitation of what Persons shall Vote for Members of the House of Commons, is Wholly and Solely from the King, as All our Laws are. This was never Determin'd by a Free and Equal Vote of all the People. Let our Commonwealths-Men shew that! As for what Advice the King took in doing of this, That is not the Matter. The Parliament is call'd the King's Great Council.

And we have several Acts of Parliament wherein the King did not take the Advice of all the Three Estates. As 3. Rich. 2. c. 2. Our Lord the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Lords Temporal—both Ordain'd and Establish'd, &c. This was a Case wherein the Bishops were Concern'd. And therefore their Advice was not Ask'd. And 13 Rich. 2. c. 1. In a Case where the Commons were Complainants, the King Enacts, By the Assent of the Great Men and Nobles. Several other Instances of this sort may be given. And tho' the Method be Alter'd now, and all our Acts carry by Advice and Consent of the Three Estates Distinctly Nam'd, viz. Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons; yet all this is from the King. He cou'd not have been Compell'd to it. It is a Limitation of Concession which he has Granted.

Our Constitution was not Always as it is now. They who are vers'd in the Rolls of Parliament, will find there Precedents of Parliaments, summoned without either Citizens or Burgeses, only Knights, sometimes Two, sometimes but One. Of Parliaments Summon'd for one Knight, two Citizens, and two Burgeses. Parliament Summon'd to meet in less than Forty Days: And after Summons, Dissolv'd before Meeting. Summon'd to one Place, and before Meeting Order'd to another Place, and to a further Day. They will find Writs requiring the same Members as in the Preceding Parliament. Writs directed to Corporations for two Burgeses, and to the Sherriffs but for one Knight: They will find the Speaker of the House of Commons (in Vacation) taken in Execution, and Imprison'd, and a New Speaker Chosen. So that their Privileges were not always as they are Now. Nay no longer ago than the Reign of Queen Eliz. We find her Limiting

writing the *Freedom of Speech* in the *House of Commons* to the bare giving of their Vote, *Yea* or *No*. But not to meddle with *Reforming* or *Transforming* either *Church* or *Commonwealth*. And the *Speaker* order'd to *Reject* such *Bills*, if offer'd, until they be view'd and consider'd of by those whom it is fitter shou'd consider of such things, and can better Judge of them. And the *Privilege* of their *Persons* so *Limited*, as That no *Man's* ill doings, or not *Performing* of *Duties*, be *Covered* or *Protected*. And the third *Petition* of *Access* to Her *Majesty*, *Refrain'd* only to *Weighty Causes*, and when she was at *Leisure*. I have not added the *Quotations* of the *Rolls* of *Parliament*, in the *Particulars* beforementioned, for *Brevity* sake; and because few *Readers* can *Consult* them; and they who are *Conversant* in them, do know all this. But they are ready when call'd for, upon any occasion, and more to the same *Purpose* which I suppose, will not be deny'd by any body.

But I will *Quote* a *Book* which every one may *Consult*, and which shews the different *Methods* of *Management* in *Parliament* from what is now. It is *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records*, &c. Revised by *Will. Pryme*. London Printed 1657. There you will find *Petitions* and *Bills* in *Parliament*, whereof the *King* Granteth *Part*, and denieth *Part*. p. 48. n. 12. n. 17. n. 19. p. 66. n. 24. p. 57. n. 30. p. 74. n. 16. p. 138. n. 177.

Again *Granted* with *Exceptions*, *Addition*, *Explanation*, or upon *Condition*. p. 39. n. 34. p. 46. n. 44. p. 48. n. 14. p. 60. n. 45. p. 62. n. 57. Answer to the *Articles* of the *Clergy*. p. 33. n. 33. p. 70. n. 8. n. 19. p. 80. n. 29. p. 82. n. 15. p. 96. n. 12. p. 97. n. 19. p. 118. n. 20. p. 126. n. 67. p. 130. n. 109. p. 131. n. 113. 115. p. 132. n. 124. p. 140. n. 199. p. 159. n. 57. p. 152. at the End. p. 166, n. 131.

Now the *Use* I have to make of these Things, is to shew, That neither the *Constitution* or *Privileges* of *Parliaments* are *Original Rights*, or *Fundamentals*; but *Variable* and *Changeable*. Nor do they Flow from the *People* at all, but are, and ever were the *Concessions* and *Grants* of *Kings*, and nothing else.

And as to all these *Limitations*, I now say, in *Direct Answer* to our *Author*, That the *King* cannot be *Lawfully Limited* by the *People*. He cannot be *Limited* but by *Himself*, That is by
the

the Law, which is made by Him, and cannot be made without Him.

2. Limitations of Coercion. But now as to *Limitations of Coercion*. No *Supreme Power* can Grant any such. Because it *ipso facto* Dissolves the Government. For it sets up a Power that is Superior to the Supreme, which is a Contradiction. And the Supreme does *ipso facto* cease to be Supreme, and that other Superior becomes Supreme. And if Power of Coercion be given to Another over that Superior, that Other becomes Supreme. And so in *Infinitum*. There can be no Basis or Centre of Government, at this Rate.

Therefore my Lord Bacon sets this down as a *Maxim* of our Law, as well as of Reason, That *Suprema Potestas seipsam Dissolvere potest, Ligare non potest*. That the Supreme Power may Dissolve it self, but cannot Limit it self. This is to be understood of *Limitations of Coercion*. For, no Doubt, the Supreme Power may Grant Concessions. But not so, as to give any other Power over it self; for that Dissolves it.

Now as it is *Absurd* and *Blasphemous* to say, That God can Limit Himself, so as to put Himself under the Coercive Power of any. So it is *Treasonable* and *Inconsistent* with Government to say, That the King can. And this is sufficiently Secur'd in the Acts of Parliament before Quoted, which Declare, That neither the Parliament, nor the People, either Collectively, or Representatively, have any Coercive Power over the King.

My Father, as my King, may Limit the Power he has over me, by Concessions to me. But to say, That this Infers a Coercive Power in me over him, so that if he breaks those Conditions to me, as I think, or please to Pretend; I may lawfully lay Hands upon him, turn him out of Doors, and seize upon his House and Inheritance for my self: This Principle would Dissolve all Relations, as 'twixt Children and Parents, so betwixt King and Subjects, Servants and Masters, and in short, of Whole Mankind.

And this is the most Effectual Barr to hinder Kings, Fathers, or Masters to give any Concessions. And introduceth a Necessity of a Rigorous Government: Since no Favour can be shew'd, without the Destruction of the Donor.

There-

Therefore the best *Security* we can have against *Tyranny* in our *Governours*, is, by a *Dutiful Submission*, to Encourage them to be Good to Us. And by *Loyal Principles* to render them *Safe* and *Secure* in whatever *Concessions* they shall Please to Give Us. No Man ever yet Hated his own *Flesh*, but Loveth and Cherisheth it. All Men desire to preserve their *Possessions*, and what *Belongs* to them. The Glory of a *King* is the *Multitude*, the *Riches*, and *Strength* of his *Subjects*. And while they are *True* to him, he must with their *Prosperity*.

v.
The best
Security a-
gainst Ty-
ranny.

But *Provocations* and *Eternal Teazing*, the *Dis-Loyalty* and *Rebellion* of *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Subjects*, may make a Man hate his own *House*, and seek all Means to *Reduce* them.

And this brings *Ten-fold* more *Ruin* and *Destruction* upon them than ever any *People* suffer'd, by Quietly Submitting to the most *Merciless Tyrant*.

If they should *Depose* their *King*, their *New Protector* and *Deliverer* may prove more *Tyrannical* than He. And if they set up a *New Captain* against their *Deliverer*, he may Prove *Worse*. Besides, what every such *New Experiment* must Cost them. Till they come at last to say with the wretched *Secilians*, as Quoted in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc.* p. 33, 34. *That they who came to Deliver them from Tyranny, prov'd the Greatest Tyrants themselves, and made their Freedom much more Dismal than their former Servitude.*

But no *Age* or *History* can afford Us Instances of this, beyond our own. I know none can Equal the *Horrid Tyranny* and *Oppression* of our *Deliverers* and *Patrons* of *Liberty* in the Times of *Forty-One*.

Among the many Particulars of which (too long here to be Repeated) I will at present name but *One*, in the very *Infancy* of their *Rebellion*, when they were making the *Fairest Pretences* in the *Tear 1642*. A *Committee* only of the *House of Commons*, consisting of these *Worthy Patriots*, having first, by *Authority* and *Force* of their *Mobb*, *Dro'n away* some, and *Imprison'd* others of the *Lawful Members* of their *House*, who they knew would stand by the *Laws*; did Assume to *Themselves* the Name of the *People* of *England*; and by an *Ordinance* of their own, without *King* or *House*.

A notable
Instance
of Liber-
ty and
Property.

House of Lords, did Impower *Four Men* of their own Choosing, to *Value* every Man's *Estate*, at what they Pleas'd; (except their own, the *Taxing* of which they Reserv'd to *Themselves*) and to *Levy* from them what *Summ* they thought fit, within the *Twentieth Part*; (that is indeed what *Summ* they Pleas'd, for they could *Value* at what they Pleas'd) And for *Non-Payment*, to *Distrain* by the *Train'd-Bands*; and for want of sufficient *Distress*, to *Compound* and *Discharge* all *Debts* due to them; and if they suspected any to *Conceal* the *Debts* due to them, to *Imprison* their *Persons* during *Pleasure*, and *Banish* their *Wives* and *Children*. And these *Four Assessors* to be *Un-Accountable* to any *Law* or *Authority* whatsoever, only to their *Constituents*; for They were now the *People*! That is, the *Supreme Authority*! This you will see at Large in *Lord Clarendon's History*, Vol. 2. p 77. Read from p. 75 to p. 82.

Here is an Example of Preserving *Liberty* and *Property* by the *Power* of the *People*.

And all this, to secure themselves from the *Encroachments*, and the *Fears* they Rais'd of the most *Merciful* and *Benign Prince* that ever sat on the *English Throne*! Who Granted away to them, by *Piece-meal*, as they were Pleas'd to *Demand* it, all the *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *Crown*; to *Satisfy* their *Jealousies*. But they were not *Satisfied* while the *Crown* sat upon his *Head*, or his *Head* upon his *Shoulders*!

VI.
Whether
the Un-
Reasona-
bleness of
People, or
the Mal-
Admini-
stration of
Kings are
most to
Blame?

And when we look into *History*, and find this to have been Generally the *Fate* of the most *Mild* and *Gracious Princes*; it Prompts Us to Reflect, with a General View, upon the Condition of *Deprav'd Humane Nature*. And to consider, whether the Cause of *More Rebellions* and *Convulsions* of *Government* has Arisen from the *Male-Administration* of *Princes*; or from the *Petulance* and *Un-Reasonableness* of the *People*?

And because we may be sure of *Right Information*, we will take it from the *Sacred Records*.

Moses.

Moses was the *Meekest Man* upon *Earth*. So *Just*, that he had never taken an *Ox* or an *Ass* from any of the *People*. Gave them the *Wise Laws* in the *World*, from the *Mouth* of *God Himself*.

self. Was set over them by God. He *Rescued* them from the *House of Bondage*, by a Multitude of *Miracles*. Had such a *Fatherly Affection* to them, as if he had *Begotten* them All

Three several times he fell down before the *Lord*, forty Days *Deut. ix. 18. 26.* each time, without *Eating* or *Drinking*, once to Receive the *Law*, and *Twice* to *Deprecate* the *Sin* of the *People*, for which God said he would have *Destroy'd* them, had not *Moses* his *Chosen* stood before Him in the *Gap*, to turn away his *Wrathful Displeasure* from them. He *Pray'd* to be *Blotted* out of the *Book of Life* Himself, to *Save* that *People*; tho' God *Promised* him, to *Raise* out of him, a *Greater Nation* than they.

One would think it *Impossible* for any *People* to *Mutiny* or *Rebel* against such a *Governor* as this! Yet never any was so *Tormented*, as this *Meek Man*, with their *Continual Insurrections*. Infomuch that he *Pray'd* to God to take away his *Life*, rather than Bear it. They laid *Arbitrary Government* upon him, and *Ambition*, to make himself altogether a *PRINCE* over them. They did not like this *Governor* of God's *Appointment*: They were for *Popular Election*. They would *Choose* for Themselves. And they said one to another, *Let Us make a Captain*. And what would they do with *Moses*? Why *Stone* him!

They *Rebell'd* *Twice* against *David*, a *Man* after God's *David.* own *Heart*, whose *Son CHRIST* delighted to be call'd. He *Fed* them with a *Faithful and True Heart*, and *Rul'd* them *Prudently*, with all his *Power*. He was *Glorious* in *War*. And *Subdu'd* their *Enemies* under them. But all that was nothing! *Nay*, but whom the *Lord*, and this *People*, and all the *Men of Israel* *Choose*, *His will I be*, and with him will I abide. This is the first time we heard of that *Maxim, Vox Populi, vox Dei*. That the *Choice* of the *People*, is the *Choice* of *God*!

But if *David's* *Reign* was *Incumber'd* with *War*, tho' *Victori-* *Solomon.* ous, and that they had a *Mind* to Live at *Ease*, his *Son Solomon* (of God's own *Choosing* too) gave them perfect *Peace* and *Plenty* *Un-Parallel'd*: He *advanc'd* their *Trade*; and made *Silver* as *Stones* in *Jerusalem*. They were the *Envy* of all *Nations* for
E Riches.

Riches. He built them a *Temple*, the *Glory* of the whole *World*
And was the *Wiseſt* of All ever *Begot* by *Man*.

Yet, all this wou'd not do? They *Complain'd* of *Taxes*, and
his *Toke* was *ILlany*! And they *Rebell'd* againſt his *House* for Ever.

Theocra-
ſie.

There is but one *Step* Higher to go in this *Scale*; and that is
to *God* Himſelf. For after the *Meekeſt* and *Juſteſt*, the moſt
Pious and *Victorious*, the moſt *Peaceable*, *Richeſt*, and *Wiſeſt*, whom
eſſe of *Mortal Race* ſhou'd we *Name*!

But *God* did once *Vouchſafe* to take the *Government* into his
own *Hands*, and to be *King* Himſelf. He *Nam'd* all their *Cap-
tains* and *Judges*, and went out before their *Armies*. But they
grew *Weary* of this *Theocraſie*, and in the *Days* of *Samuel*, they
Rejected *GOD* too from being their *King*! And would *Chooſe*
for *Themſelves*! And of *All* they *Chooſe*, not one *Prov'd* *Good*.

Now let us look a little to the other *Side*, of the *Perverſe-
neſs* that is found among the *Generality* of *Mankind*. As we have
ſeen how *Un-eaſie* and *Mutinous* they are under the moſt *Mild* and
Gentle Governments: So, on the other hand, where they *Rul'd*
with a *ſtrait* *Reign*, and even *Tyrannically*, they commonly
ſpeak *Beſt* of thoſe *Princes*, and *Adorn* their *Memories*.

How the *Mild Family* of the *Stuarts* have been *Treated* ſince
they came into *England*, I need not *Repeat*.

And yet none of theſe *Severities* can be *Alleg'd* in any of
their *Reigns*, as were in thoſe of *Hen. VIII.* or *Q. Eliz.*

That *Uſage* which either of them gave their *Parliaments*
would not be born now. *Swearing* at them, and taking their
Members out of the *House*, and *Imprifoning* them during *Pleaſure*,
and not ſuffering any *Reason* to be *aſk'd* them for it. And yet
K. Char. I. but deſiring *Juſtice* againſt five of their *Members*,
was a *Breach* of *Privilege*, and a ſufficient *Ground* for a *Re-
bellion*!

He *Courted* the *Fanaticks*, *Eſtabliſh'd* them in *Scotland*, *In-
dulg'd* them in *England*, and even made Himſelf a *Sacrifice* to
them. Yet they *Hate* his *Memory*.

Q. Eliz. *Proſecuted* them with the *Utmoſt Rigor*. Made *Se-
vere Laws* againſt them, and put them in full *Execution*.
She reckon'd them, as her worſt *Enemies*, even worſe than
the

the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have been Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion*. As you may see in the Lord Chancellor *Puckering's* Speech, which I have therefore *Annexed*. Num. 3. And yet they Pretend to Reverence her *Memory*!

One Cause of which I take to be, That when Men are Hinder'd from any *Wickedness*, they are willing to take the *Honour* to themselves, of never having *Design'd* it. But rather to have *Suffered* under an Un-just *Suspicion*, Which Use, some of the *Dissenters* late Books have made of their Patient *Suffering* under *Q. Eliz.* as a *Testimony* of their *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience-Principles*, to *Vie* therein with the *Church of England*.

On the other hand, when Men have *Perpetrated* their *Wickedness*, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and Justifie it. And therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have *Injur'd*; for that is to Condemn themselves. And herein is that *Saying* Verified, *That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot Forgive*,

Another Reason there is for this *Perverse Temper* of Men. That the *Multitude* are like the *Waters* (as they are often Represented in the *H. Scriptures*) which will go, as far as they have Way. And when they who bear the *Sword of God*, will suffer Pernicious *Principles* to be *Spread*, and the *Populace* to *Rage* and *Swell*; As they are Accountable to *God*, for Bearing his *Sword* in *vain*, and suffering His *Authority*, with which they are *Entrusted*, to be vilely *Prostituted* to the *Beasts* of the *People*: So they often let these Bad *Humours* Encrease, till they are *Involv'd*; and seek to *Extricate* themselves by mean *Compliances*, which Render them and their *Authority* more and more *Contemptible*; till at last it be *Wrested* out of their Hands; and they themselves often *Perish* with it. For that *Maxim* must for ever remain *Ir-Refragable*, That it is in vain seeking to *Compound* with those who *Contend* for *Power*. For the more they get, the more they must have till they have All. Can one *Exception* be *Produc'd*!

Therefore *Q. Eliz.* Watch'd the Beginnings of the *Faction*, and kept them under; from so much as any *Expectation* of coming into *Places* of *Power* or *Trust*; And she had *Peace* and *Quietness* with them; And has their *Good Word* still.

But *K. Car. I.* Endeavour'd to *Compound* with them, and Gave them *Part*, that they might not seek the *Whole* ! For which they *Condemn'd* him as a *Tyrant* and a *Traytor*. And have his *Memory* in *Detestation* !

It had been much better for the *Nation* to have had a *Rigorous King* over them, than a *Prince*, tho' of never so many *Personal Vertues*, who, out of a *Mistaken Clemency*, should let *Factions* Grow to the *Destruction* of the *People*.

VII. A *Tyrant* must *Die*, or may become *Better*. God says, That the *Hearts of Kings* are in His Hands, and he turns them, as it seemeth best to Him. He sends *Good Kings* to a *Good People*; and *wicked Princes* for the *Punishment* of a *wicked People*.

But when we have over-turn'd the *Foundation* of *Government*; will let it be no longer from God, but set it up upon the *Foot* of the *People*, which has no *Foundation*; It is not for one *Life* or *Age* we may endure the Effects of it ! What did the *Deposition* of *Rich. II.* cost *England*? A *Train* of *Misery*, *Blood*, and *Destruction* for above an *Hundred Years*, till the *Right Line* was at last *Restor'd* ! And was the Difference betwixt *Rich. II.* and *Hen. IV.* worth all this? So that *Tyranny* may Last for a *Life*; But *Rebellion*, if it succeeds, for *Ages*.

No *Kingdom* was ever yet *Destroy'd* by the *Tyranny* of a *King*. But by *Rebellion* Many have.

Yet our *Author* thinks *Tyranny* much more *Destructive* to the *People*, than *Popular Revolution*. And proves it thus, p. 18. Let any one Consider the *Cruelties* that have been *Inflicted* upon the *Poor Protestants* in *France*; not to mention the many *Illegal Arbitrary Proceedings* that we have seen in our *Nation*, and compare them with the manner with which our *Popular Revolution* was brought about, and try in his *Conscience*, if he can be of his (the *Author* of the *Association's*) *Opinion*. And let any one *Reflect* upon the *Condition* we must have been in before this time, had not God come in to our *Rescue*, and I am sure it will be *Impossible* for him to *Subscribe* to such downright *Falsities*, and such *Slavish Principles*.

This *Author* is still very *Sure* ! I first, except against the last part of the *Comparison*, What he apprehends might have come to pass ! *Jealousies* and *Fears* will bear no *Argument*. A *Man* may

may be as *Fearful* as he *Pleases*. There are some who *Fly*, when when none *Pursueth*. And some Pretend *Dangers*, to *Frighten* other Folks ; to *Raise Mobs*, and carry on *Designs*.

But I desire to know what he means by *The many Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings that we have seen in our own Nation ?* I suppose he does not mean the *Last Reign*. Therefore I will not *Mention* it. It must then be the *Two former Reigns*. For we have seen none other.

By this *Representation*, a *Stranger* would Expect many Men *Massacred*, *Dragoon'd*, *Banish'd*, &c. in the *Reigns* of K. *Char. II.* and K. *James II.* When this is brought in as a *Ballance* to the *Destruction* that Attends *Popular Revolutions*. But when he is told, That no one *Man, Woman, or Child* can be *Produc'd* in both these *Reigns*, that did Suffer otherwise than by the known *Laws* of the *Land*. Not one *Gaffny'd* or *Glen-Coe'd*. But many *Pardon'd*, and *Re-pardon'd*, who had been in open *Rebellion*, and Detected in several *Affassination-Plots*, to have *Murther'd* the *King*, and *over-turn* both *Church* and *State* ; And this so fully *Prov'd*, as to be *Confessed* even by *Themselves* : I say when this is shew'd to be the *Case*, as it Truly is ; What wou'd a *Stranger* think, What shou'd *We* think (we are *Strangers* to our selves !) if such *Writers* as these, who *Blacken Princes*, whose *Mercy* was their *Fault* and their *Ruin*, as if they had been the *Greatest Tyrants* in the *World* ; when yet they have no one *Instance* to shew of what they wou'd so *Impudently Impose* upon the *World* !

This Reasonably *Abates* the *Credit* we are to Give them, when they speak of *Foreign Affairs*, and bring no *Proof*. Yet I will not take that Advantage, so as to Wave that Part of his *Comparison*, which Relates to the Treatment of the *Hugonots* in *France*. Nor will I seek to *Alleviate* or *Lessen* it, by the known Principles of these Men as to *Government*, and the *Deposing* of *Kings* ; Their former Frequent *Rebellions* ; And those *Discoveries*, which the *Advocates* for the *French King* Alledge he had made of their *Treating* with *Foreign Powers*, in Order to an *Insurrection* in his own *Kingdom*. I Wave all this, nor will I undertake the *Proof* of it.

Our *Comparison* lies only as to the *Number* of *Men* that were *Destroy'd* in this *French Persecution*. I have heard much of the *Dragooning* there. And it was very *Barbarous*. I *Detest* it. But I have not heard much of any put to *Death* upon that Account
of

of Religion, excepting of a Few of their *Ministers*, who being *Banish'd* on Pain of *Death*, did *Return*. But let the Whole *Detail* be made out, in the most *Ample* Manner, we will by no Means *Stint* them; And when they have Agreed upon the *Number*, with any sort of *Probability*, I will give them Leave to *Multiply* it *Ten-fold*; And then will Enter upon the *Comparison* of those who *Perish'd* —

Not in our late *Revolution*, as this *Author* wou'd *Fix* it: No, I will not meddle with that. I allow that to be an *Exception*. Because it was *Worth* All that it *Cost* Us! What was some *Hundreds* of *Thousands* that were *Starv'd* to *Death*, and *Fell* by the *Sword* in *Ireland*, in about *two Years* time; besides *Families* and *Persons* that were *Ruin'd*, without *Number*! What were all those who *Perish'd* in *Scotland*; And in our *Ten-Years War* Abroad, by *Sea* and *Land*! What was All this; Besides about *Eighty Millions* in *Taxes* (more than all our *Kings* since *William* the *Conqueror* had, put together.) What was all this, if it had been *Ten* times more, in *Comparison* of the *Preservation* of our *Laws* and *Liberties*! But this I will say, That this is the first *Popular Revolution* that ever was worth the while!

Therefore I will carry our *Comparison* Higher, to the *Former* of *Forty-One*. And to that of *Tork* and *Lancaster*. And will Double the *Advantage* I before offer'd this *Author*, as to the *Number* of those who *Perish'd* and were *Ruin'd*, in either of these *Revolutions*; compar'd with those who *Perish'd* in the late *French Persecution* of the *Hugonots*. And I will give this latest of the *Severnois* into the Bargain. Nay I will go further, and let him Add to the Account, the late *Persecutions* of the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and in *Savoy*. So vast a *Dis-proportion* there is betwixt *Tyranny* and *Revolution*! And so little Reason has this *Author* to call these things downright *Falsities*, which are as *Flagrant Truth*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*! But none so *Blind* as they who will not *See*.

VIII.
Slavish
Principles

As little Ground had he, to call the *Jure Divino* Doctrines, *Slavish Principles*. For let these *Doctrines* be *True* or *False*; It cannot surely be call'd so *Slavish*, to submit my self to one *Royally Born*, sprung from the Loins of many *Kings*! Whom I believe

believe to be *Invested* with a *Divine Commission* ; and likewise Better for the *Salus Populi*, and Preservation of the *Publick Peace and Security* ; And whose *Heart*, GOD says, He keeps in His own *Hand* ; And that he will *Eternally Reward* those who *Faithfully Serve, Honour, and Humbly Obey* such in Him, and for Him, according to his *Blessed Word and Ordinance*, considering whose *Authority* such an One hath, that is God's. Now whether is it more *Slavish* to Obey such an One, for *Conscience* towards God ; or to put my self *Creepingly* under the *Feet* of the *Beasts* of the *People*, of one upon the same *Level* with my self, it may be, *Worse Born* ; and who by *Hypocrisie and Trick*, has squeez'd himself into *Power*, perhaps, by *Undermining Me*, who had the same *Plot* upon Him ! And stands upon no other *Foundation*, than a *Pack'd Party* who call Themselves the *People* ; To which I have as good *Right*, if I can get a *Party* to follow me ; And so has every other, if he were my *Foot-Man*, or a *Massanello*, who can do the same ; Whether is more *Honourable*, or more *Slavish*, to submit *Tamely* under such an One, or, which is worse, a *Mobb* of them ; without any *Rules of Law*, or *Constitution*, but what they Please to Call so ; And in *Opposition* to all the *Laws* of God and Man ; To the *Trampling down* of all *Nobility*, and *Distinctions* of Men ; I leave it to any Man of *Honour* or *Sense*, Whether there is not more of *Slavery* and *Poornefs* of Spirit in *Submitting* to such, than to a *King*, whom it is an *Honour* to *Serve* ; And has been so *Reputed*, in the whole *Earth*, from the first *Division* of *Nations*, to this Day ; except among a *Sett* of *Filthy Dreamers*, who have of late Years, *Rose up* in our *Land* ; Who speak *Evil* of the things they *Understand* not ; And are not *Afraid* to despise *Dominion*, and speak *Evil* of *Dignities* ; Whereas *Angels* dare not bring *Railing Accusations* against them, tho' *Wicked*, tho' the *Devil* himself ! The *Blessed Angels* serve *VVillingly*, in the several *Ranks* of that *Hierarchy* wherein God has *Plac'd* them ; And this is their *perfect Freedom*. The *Devil* wou'd not keep his *first Principality*, and is a *Slave* in his *Rebellion* ! To *Serve* a *Nobler* than my self, is *Honourable* ; but to *Serve* my *Inferior*, or *Equal*, is *Slavish*. Happy is that *Land* whose *King* is the *Son* of *Nobles*. And *Wretched* are those *People*, over whom *Servants* bear *Rule*.

Having

IX.
of a Li-
mited and
Mix'd
Monarchy.

Having thus Dispatch'd these *Popular Objections* of our *Author*; Let Us now Pursue the *Argument*, we have been upon; and conclude it with the Explaining of some *Words*, which are a *Stumbling-Block* to Many, because not well Understood; These are the *Phrases* of a *Limited* and *Mixed Monarchy*, which are in Every Bodies Mouth, and the Burden of all our *Republican*, and *Whig-Pamphlets*.

They say, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are a *Mixture* of *Monarchy*, *Aristocrasie*, and *Democrasie*, altogether. For that the *Supreme Power* is divided between them. Thence they Raise their *Ballancing* of *Power*, between these three *Supremes*. Of which sufficient has been said before, That it is *Nonsense* and *Contradiction*. That *Power* is *One*, and therefore cannot be divided, &c.

But must there be no *Limitation* then, or *Mixture* of *Monarchy*? *Mixture* can be None. That cannot be in the *Nature* of the *Thing*. All the *Mixture* is this, That the *Lords*, who are the *Aristocratical* Part, and the *Commons*, who are the *Democratical*, do both Compose the *King's Great Council* of the *Parliament*. Which is an Excellent and Wise *Disposition*. As it is said, *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*. But then the *Supreme Power* is only in the *King*, not in these three *Kings*. As it is likewise said, *For the Wickedness of a Land, many are the Princes thereof*. One *King*, and Many *Counsellors*. That is the *Safest*. And it is Our *Constitution*.

Dismissing then this *Mixture* of *Government*, let Us come to the *Limitations*.

May not a *Monarch* be *Limited*? Yes, as is said before, He may *Limit* Himself, by *Limitations* and *Concession*. And, in this Sense, ours is the most *Limited*, and Consequently the Most *Happy Government* in the World; if we know our own *Happiness*, and will be *Content* with it.

But as to *Limitations* of *Coercion*, the *King* cannot *Limit* Himself, nor be *Limited* by any other. For that Moment the *Government* is *dissolv'd*. And nothing but *Confusion* can follow. And our *Laws* have sufficiently secur'd against any *limitation* of *Coercion*, as before has been shew'd.

In the next Place I will say, That no *Commonwealths*, or what they call *Popular Governments* (tho' no such ever truly was, or can be in the World) have Granted such *Limitations* of *Concession*, as *Monarchs*, at least, *Ours* have done. And no *Subjects* in the World may be so *Easie* and *Happy* as We ; if that *Rebellious* Principle of *Coercing* our *Kings*, and making our selves *Co-ordinate* with Him, were once Rooted out from among Us. If we wou'd be Guided either by *Reason*, or *Scripture*, the *Law* of the *Land*, or, the *Experience* of all *Ages*, chiefly of *our own*. Till when, *Peace* and *Settlement* will be as Impossible to us, as to Reconcile *Contradictions*.

And without Reflecting upon One or Another *Party*, considering them only as *Men*, where there is a *Contest* for *Power*, one or the other must Have it. And there can never be any *Settlement* in such a *State* of things. Or any *Government* Fix'd without a certain *Foundation*, *Centre*, and *Ultimate Arbitrator*. Which can never be the *People*. They are the *Party* to be Govern'd; And therefore cannot be the *Governors*.

And now we have seen all that is said in this *Occasional Letter* against the *Principles* laid down in the *New Assoc.* I could take Advantage of several *Expressions*. But all I Aim at is to settle *Principles*. And I shall be Glad if any will shew me, wherein I have *Reason'd* Amis; Or Mistaken the Sense of the *Holy Scriptures*; or of our own *Laws* and *Constitution*; Or in Matter of *Fact*, as to the Dreadful *Consequences* of these *Popular* Principles, which take *Government* from off the *Foundation* of *Divine Right* and *Establishment*; And place it upon the *Face* of the *VVaters*, upon the Giddy *Multitude*, perpetually *Ebbing*, and *Flowing*, and Raised up into *Storms* and *Tempests*, by every *Breath* of *Seditious* Spirits to their own Destruction; and overthrow of all *Order*, *Laws*, and *Constitution*.

And the Endeavouring to settle sure and Lasting *Foundations* of *Government*, in Opposition to these *Popular* no *Principles*, of *Sedition* and *Eternal Confusion*, is all the Reason I know that has stirr'd up the *Wrath* of these *Orators* for the *Populace*. And it is a sufficient *Reason*, in one Sense, That while they are

x.
Character
given of
the New
Assoc.

Resolv'd not to *Repent*, they wou'd not be *Inform'd*, nor have others to be set *Right*. And if the *Principles* of *Government* before-mention'd, of a *Divine Original* and *Right*, cannot be *Disprov'd*; nor the other supported, of *Founding* it upon the *People*, then the *Temple* of the *Republican-Dagon* Tumbles down all at once; And *Restless* Spirits are *Dis-arm'd* of their *Main* and *Perpetual Pretence* for stirring Men up to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. This is it which makes them so *Angry*, so *Exceedingly Concern'd* at all *Discourses* of this Nature; And to *Treat* the *Authors* with so much the more *Rage* and *Malice*, the less they find themselves *Able* to *Answer* them.

It was this, which made the *Occasional Letter*, p. 7. call the *New Assoc. The most Malicious and Virulent Book of the Age*. And tell the *Author*, That he *Deserves* the *Pillory*. And again, p. 25, 26. *This Writer has the best way of turning every thing, without any Prejudice to a Party, just to his own Humour, of any Man I ever met with.*

But Sir, there is an *Easie Receipt* for this, and is no such *Master-piece* in that *Author*. There goes no more to it than this, To fix *True Principles*, from which it is easie for any *Man* to *Argue*; and to have no other *Humour* or *Design*, than to find out the *Truth*; And then, *every thing will turn just to his own Humour*; And that *without any Prejudice to a Party*, while he only *Battles* their *Principles*; And thereby *Endeavours* to *Reclaim* them from their *Evil Practices*: Which likewise he *May* and *Ought* to *Lay* before them, *Fully* and *Freely*, to *Deter* them the more from *Relapsing* into them. And all this, without any *Prejudice* to them. No. It is the greatest *Kindness* can be shew'd to them. Much *Greater* than to *Sooth* and *Palliate*, and *Excuse* them! And if any will *Harden* themselves against all *Conviction*, and *Return* nothing but *Railing* and *Billingsgate* to whatever *Reasons* or *Arguments*; and seek to *Pervert* others, by *Corrupting* the *Right ways* of *Truth*; such are to be *Rebuk'd Sharply*, to save others from their *Infection*. Especially when the *Support* or *Ruin* of a *Nation* depends upon it.

Concern-
ing the E-
ducation of
Children.
Serm. 2.

Arch-Bishop Tillotson said very well, *That we must not use Mildness in the Case of a Wilful and Heinous Sin, especially if it be Exemplary, and of Publick Influence. To Rebuke Gently upon such*
an

an Occasion, is rather to Countenance the Fault, and seems to Argue that we are not sensible enough of the Enormity of it, and that we have not a due Dislike, and Detestation for it. Such cold Reproofs as those which Old Eli gave his Sons, 1 Sam. 2. 23, 24. Why do you such things; For I hear of your Evil Dealing by all this People. That is, their Carriage was such as gave Publick Scandal: Nay, my Sons, it is not a good Report that I hear, you make the Lord's People to Transgress. Such a Cold Reproof as this, where the Crime was so Great and Notorious, was a kind of Allowance of it, and a Partaking with them in their Sin; And so God Interprets it.

And so no doubt He will, if we give Allowance to the Witchcraft of Rebellion, and Partake with it, by such Mild and Gentle Reproofs, as seem rather to Countenance or Excuse it: And not to give Men a Due Horror and Detestation of so Destructive a Wickedness, for which they will Receive to themselves Damnation; And which Hurries them to their own Destruction, and of the whole Community with them! This Sin ought to be Painted out in its Proper Colours; the Wicked Nature, and Dismal Consequences of it should be Expos'd to the Full, that it be not thought a Small and Indifferent thing:

To this there is a Strange Answer given, That if this Faction are so Implacable in their Principles, if they enter into Associations that are Treasonable by Law, And if they have done such and such things, which are there set down, and Quoted out of the New Assoc.— Well, What then? What Inference does he draw from it? Do's he Deny any of these things? Or say, That they are Falsly Charg'd? No. He says not a Word against the Truth of the Charge. For the Associations are set down verbatim in the New Assoc. And the whole Charge Prov'd in every Particular, past the Possibility of a Denial; And this Author do's not Deny one Word of it. But makes this Inference, as the Plain Design of the New Assoc. viz. That the Government, for its own Security, and for Recompening them that they have Deserved, should order Gallows to be Erected, and without more ado should have them all Hang-ed. And calls to Mind again The Shortest Way. They are still Fond of that Precious Piece! Guilty Conscience!

Occasional Letter, p. 8.

But the *New Assoc.* is so far from Intending any thing of this *Hanging* Business, That he Expressly Clears himself from it; And shews his Meaning to be no more than to Trust them with the *Power* of Acting their former *Mischiefs* over again. And no *Answer* is given to that in this *Occasional Letter*. But the *Objection* Repeated over again, That nothing but *Hanging* was the *Design*! Nay, it is said, *That it is a very plain and necessary Inference.*

Now, by this way of Argument, if that *Author* had Qoted, *Rom. xiii. 2.* That *they who Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*, then it had been as *Plain and Necessary* an *Inference*, That he design'd their *Damnation* as well as *Hanging*, because they *Deserv'd Both*.

At this Rate, no Man must Preach *Sin* to be *Damnable*! Nor tell the *People* of their *Sins*, lest he be thought to have a *Design* to *Damn* them All!

Wolf
Stripp'd.
Append.
N. 2.

We have been told of another *Association*, since those mention'd in the *New Assoc.* (And it is Given Us likewise *Verbatim*) by some of the same *Faction*; and *Affixed* up Publickly upon the *Mercat-Cross* of a *Royal Borough*, at *Noon-day*, by about *Seven Hundred Men in Arms*, in the Name of all the *True Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; And Order'd to be *Dispers'd* all over the *Kingdom*; wherein they Renounce *Queen Ann*, in Express Words, because She had Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; which having been once a *Covenanted Kingdom*, they will have it so Again, to the Peril of their *Lives*, and All that they have.

Now, is not this *Treason*? Must it not therefore be Mention'd? Tho' to no other Purpose, than to keep the *Sword* out of the *Hands* of *People* so *Principl'd*; and not to Trust them with the *Power*, who have all along Given Abundant Demonstration, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy* Us, our *Church* and *Government*! I say, must not this be Mention'd, without a *Design* to have them all *Hang'd*! Is there not such a thing as *Repentance* and *Amendment*, upon the full Discovery of *False* and *Pernicious Principles*? Or, if they be past that, to secure what others we can from falling into their *Snares*? Or Lastly, That the *Church* and the *Monarchy* shou'd stand upon their *Guard*, and
Watch

Watch such Restless *Spirits*, and Inveterate *Enemies* to Both? Must We have a *Design* to *Destroy* Them, except we give Them *Leave* to *Destroy* Us?

Here is an *Invincible Asylum* to all *Rebellion*, and to *Blacken* any who speak against it; That they are *Cruel* and *Merciless* Men, who have a *Design* against the *Lives* of those they call *Rebels*! Tho' the *Proofs* be never so *Flagrant*, and the *Principle* Justify'd by Them All, by every One of Them, without *Exception*; And *Propagated* in *Print*, all over the *Nation*, to *Poyson* it, and to *Ruin* bring. And the *Principle* of *Loyalty*, and *Patient Submitting* for *Conscience* sake, on *Account* of any *Divine Character* or *Authority* in *Kings*, is, by these Men made the *Fest* and *Hatred* of the *People*. And they who are for *Peace* and settl'd *Government*, are call'd *Persecutors*, and *Tyrannical*, because they *Fear God* and the *King*, and *Meddle not with those that are given to Change*! Now whether their *Arguments* be *Good* or not, yet it is certain their *Design* is *Peace* and *Quietness*, and rather to *Suffer* *Injuries*, than to *Offer* them: And it is what they are *Perswaded* is the *Best* for *Salus Populi*, and *Attended* with much less *Ruin* and *Destruction* to the *Community*, than what they suffer by *Popular Revolutions*. Yet this is call'd a *Bloody* and *Tyrannical Principle*, whereas that of *Rebellion* and *Perpetual Innovations*, is call'd *Generous*, and likewise *Merciful*, tho' it *Destroy* one *Half* of the *People*, to *Preserve* the *Rest*; and *Sacrifice* to every *Prevailing Faction*, the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of the whole *Nation*, with all its *Laws* and *Constitutions*!

Now as a *Sample* of these two *Sorts* of Men, Let Us Look into these two *Books* here before us. The *New Assoc.* having *Prov'd* the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* to have been formerly *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebelling*, and *Enemies* to *Church and State*, carries the *Consequence* no farther than not to have them *Intrusted* with the *Power* to *Act* all this over again: But the *Occasional Letter* says, p. 28. *And indeed were they as bad as he has describ'd them, I could not but think that Hanging or Banishment is what they well Deserv'd, and what the Common Safety Required.*

Now as to his *Suppose*, whether they were so *Bad*, *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebellious*, the *Proof* is *Hard Matter of Fact*, which will not be *Deny'd*! And tho' this *Author* and other of their
Advo-

Advocates, do Deny the *Charge* in the *whole*; yet they Answer not the *Particulars*, nor can Deny any One of them.

But this shews how they would Deal with those whom they Esteem their *Enemies*, as the *High Church*, &c. if it were in their Power; to make *Root and Branch* work with *Episcopacy*, according to the Maxim in their *Private Accademies*, which Mr. *VVesley* has shewn in his *Letter* concerning them, and the *Defence* of it, lately Printed for R. Clavel, and James Knaplock in St. Paul's Church-yard; 1704. Which are well worth the Reader's Perusal, and the Consideration of our *Superiors*.

XI.
Of the
Calves-
Head
Feasts.

This *Occasional Letter*, p. 29. falls upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for mentioning the *Calves-Head-Feasts*, and joyns with him in the same Accusation, The *Author* of the *Dedication* of the *Second Volume* of the *Lord Clarendon's History*, and Replies smartly upon him, thus, *The Author of that Dedication might indeed know of Publick Musick and Rejoycing on that Day, at Oxford, where his Dedication was Printed. But if any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd on that Solemn Day, these Gentlemen might know, that the Party at whose Door such Impiety is laid, Abhor, and Dis-own it as much as themselves.*

Here is Scandal thrown, no Matter whom it hits. As to the *Publick Rejoycings* at Oxford, I leave the *Author* to Explain, and the *Persons Concern'd* to Answer. I will only say for the Present, that this comes from a *Party*, to whom Slander is no new thing, especially when thrown in *Innuendo's*, which they know sufficient to those with whom they have to do.

But I observe he do's not put *Feasting* into his *Oxford Accusation*, and as for *Musick*, that is not always a Sign of *Rejoycing*. There are *Lamentations*, and *Penitential Psalms*, and *Psalms* are usually Sung at *Executions*. But he calls it *Publick Musick*. Why? Was it at the *Theatre*? But tho' *Feasting* be not in the *Premises*, he has slid it into the *Conclusion*, to make the *Charge* Full and Round! For he says, *If any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd, &c.* Which Implies, they were Practis'd there; unless he thinks to come off, when Question'd, by the Particle, *Or*, which may refer to *One* or *Both*. If so, it was more *Artful* than *Honest*. And if the *Evening* of a *Fast-day* be

Clos'd

Clos'd up with Answerable *Musick*, is that Equal to the making it a *Feast-Day*?

But how do's he come to make an *If* of it? *If anywhere else* — As if he had never heard one tittle of these *Calves-Head Feasts*, which are so Notorious in *London*, their *History* and *Anthems* Printed, and have been continued from that *Fatal Day* to this! One would Fancy this not wrote by an *Englishman*!

But it is a Happiness every Man is not Born to, to *Believe*, *See*, and *Hear*, just as he *Pleases*!

But this *Author* further says, *That the Party at whose door such an Impiety is laid, Abhor and Dis-own it.*

First, as to the *Party* he supposes concern'd, he must *Know* them very well, else he could not so frankly *Undertake* for them. And they are the same whose *Principles* brought to pass the *Dismal Tragedy* of that *Day*. And they seem more *Consequential* to themselves, who *Avow* both the *Principle* and the *Fact* pursuant to it, than they who still *defend* the *Principle*, but would *disown* the *Effects* of it.

For, Sir, you must know, That it is not the *Meat*, but the *Principles* of those *Feasts*, which Render them so *detestable*; that is, the *Deposing-Doctrine*, and setting up the *Power* of the *People* above the *King*. For if those *Principles* be true, that *King* died by the *Sentence* of his Proper *Judges* and *Superiors*. And *Justly*, too, for *Denying* of their *Supream Authority*, and *Refusing* to be *Try'd* by it.

Now, Sir, If you Please to *Examine* over that *Party* for whom you have *Vouch'd*, and see how many of *them* will *Renounce* their *Calves-Head Principles* — And all the Rest are of the *Club*, whether they come to their *Feasts* or not. By this *Test* we shall find whether this *Calves-Head-Club*, consists only of a *Few* *profligate Men*, as this *Author* Represents it, or of *those in general*, who are Represented under the Name of *WHIGS*, whose *Principles* he undertakes to *Vindicate*, and says, *They are Entirely for our Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd, and for all that Allegiance to Kings and Queens, which the Law of God and Man requires.* How far the *Deposing Doctrine* is Consistent with these, has been spoke to before, and particularly as to the *Laws* of the *Land*, Express in
full

full and very particular *Acts* of *Parliament*, yet *Un-repeal'd*, as to any *Coercive* Power over the *King*, in the *People* either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. So that if we will be *Determin'd* by the *Laws*, the *Laws* have *Determin'd* Us: And if we fly Higher, to the *Original* of *Nations* upon the *Earth*, then we hope from the next *Occasional Letter* (since we are to have more, for this is but *Numb. 1.*) a *Clearer* and more *Certain* Account of it than what is before given. Till which be done, it is not a *Few Profligate*, but the whole *Body* of the *Whigs*, that lie under the *Imputation*. And they are desired to shew, How they *have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of K. Ch. I.* (as this Author says) while they *have always Maintain'd* the very same *Principles*, which (more *Guiltily* than the *Ax*) cut off his *Head*! And which still do *Tbreaten* all *Kings* and *Queens* that ever shall wear the *Crown* in *England*! And which actually pass the same *Sentence* upon All who are not *Better* than that *Blessed Martyr*! Who are not more *Vertuous*, more *Pious* than He! More *Willing*, more *Ready* to Give up their *Prerogative*, and Grant *Concessions*, to whatever *Prevailing Party* Pretend to *Act* in the *Name* of the *People*! Or, who *Obstinately*, like him, shall deny the *Authority* of these their *Constituents*, to call them to *Account*, to *Adjudge* the *Crown* from off their *Heads*, or their *Heads* off their *Shoulders*! For that is the *Highest Treason* and *Rebellion* any *King* can commit against his *Sovereign Lord*, the *People*! It is a downright *Dis-owning* of their *Authority*, and *Usurping* it to Himself! It is a making *Them* his *Subjects*, instead of his being *Subject* unto *Them*!

Now when the *Whigs* call it a *Barbarous Murther* in the *People*, to put such a *King* to *Death*: And yet Maintain the same *Principle* upon which they did it; it is *Impossible Both* shou'd be *True*, because they are *Contradictions*; And in which of them they *Play* the *Hypocrite* is easily *Discern'd*; while they *Act* upon the one, the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*, openly *Assert* and *defend* it; and *Persecute* those who *Deny* it, as *dis-affected*, *Seditious*, and which is worse, as *Higb-Church-Men*! But their *Acknowledgments* to the *Martyr*, is only in *Words*, and that very *Short*, a *Passing Expression* or so, for *Popularity* sake, since it is the *Fashion*; but without any *Reason* given for it, or so much as saying, That he did not deserve to *die*, who *Deny'd*, and
Refus'd

Refus'd to Submit himself to the *Supream Power* of the *People*. Such *Crocodile-Tears* as they bestow upon the *Hearse* of the *Martyr*, while they Justifie the *Fact* in all its Consequences, is a more Outragious and Provoking *Mockery*, than the Bare-fac'd *Impudency* of the *Calves-Head-Feasts*!

— But if there are any indeed of so very weak a Judgment, as to think that they can pay a just *Veneration* to the *Memory* of the *Martyr*, and yet Retain the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*; This is to let them see, that they must Part with *One*, for they cannot Serve *Two* such *Masters*.

I am told, That last 30th of *January*, at one of the Principal of their *Calves-Head-Feasts* here in *London*, they used a sort of a *Symbolical Ceremony*, of *Sticking* their *Knives*, all at once, into the Biggest of the *Calves-Heads*, thereby Engaging themselves in a *Band of Unity*, for the *Restoration* of *Puffs*, that is, their *Commonwealth*; And the *Extirpation* of *Monarchy*, especially in the *Line* of the *Martyr*, whom they thus Represented. And in one of their *Poems* since Published, this Year 1704. Intituled, *Faction Display'd. The Second Part*. Which deserves its Room among their *Anthems*, they speak it out as Plainly, p. 21. Where Justifying the *Deposition* of the Late K. *Jam. II.* They say.

*I own the Right an Injur'd Nation did,
When She from Rome Her Threatn'd Altars freed,
Applaud the Just and more Approv'd Design,
Of quite Exploding that detested Line.*

Is not this fair *Warning* (in *Print*, and Cry'd about the *Streets*) to his *Daughter*, now Sitting upon his *Throne*!

When any Person is Dear to us, we use to *Embaln* his *Me-* XII.
mory, and cannot seek Occasions to *Bespatter* and *Reville* him; This Au-
As this Author does, tho' he says he does it not, p. 9, 10. thor's Re-
Where coming to Answer the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, viling the
and the Cruel Usage the *Clergy* met with there in the last *Reign*; Memory
he *Confesses* the *Charge*, for it was not to be *Deny'd*, and the on- of King
ly Method he could find to lessen the *Weight* of it, was, to lay Charles
tyr.
G Load

Load much more Heavily upon King Charles the First, for the same, and says, That what he advances, p. 10. Sets off King W's Management of the Affair to better Advantage than that of his Royal Grandfather's. Of which the Reader shall Judge when I have offer'd these few Considerations, not to Aggravate against the Grandson, but to do Justice to the Memory of the Royal Grandfather.

I Grant this to be the Greatest and most Fatal Blot in that Good King's Reign. But he severely Repented of it. And Aggravates it against himself. Thus says he to God in his Confession, *Was it through Ignorance that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship to be set up in Scotland? And Injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with Shame and Grief I confess, that I therein followed the Perswasions of Worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a Right Inform'd Conscience; wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuse to make, no Hope left, but in the Multitude of thy Mercies—* I hope this Author will be able to produce to us as truly Christian and Heroical a Confession of the Grandson's, and then it would be very Wicked, and a Breach of Charity to remember his Sin any more, to his Dis-advantage.

But the Grandfather Express'd his Repentance in more than Words, for he Sealed it with his Blood; and chose rather to lose his Head, than consent to such another Act of Abolition of Episcopacy in England. Whether his Grandson might not have done the same, if it had come to the Tryal, I will not say, but leave it to this Author, to give us what Indexes of it he has observed; because he speaks of himself, as one let into his most secret Councils; for he says, p. 10. *I have great Reason to be Confident he (K. Will.) had such a Design (of Restoring Episcopacy in Scotland) if ever he could have had it in his Power to have Effected it.* Now whatever Reason this Author had to be Confident of K. W's Design, which I will not Ask, for I care not to be Intrusted with Secrets; yet he would Oblige the World to let us know why it was not in his Power to have Effected it! When the first Rabble Presbyterian-Convention was continued all his Reign, against all the Sollicitations could be made to give the Nation a Free Election. And why were the Bishops turn'd out, and the Episcopal Clergy Rabbl'd and Dis-possess'd, before the Oaths were put to 'em,
or.

or known which of them would *Swear* to the *Government*, or not?

He says (*ibid.*) That K. W. *made no Grants of the Church Lands in Scotland.* This was his *Ignorance* or his *Innocence*! For when Her present Majesty had Piously design'd to apply the *Bishops Revenues* in *Scotland* towards the Support of the Surviving *Bishops*, and *Depriv'd Episcopal Clergy* there, it has been found upon Enquiry, that almost the whole of them have been *Grant-ed* away, and that even by Act of *Parliament*, to *Lay-men* there, so that there is but a *Pittance* left for Her Majesty to Dispose of. While Mr. *Carstares*, who was in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*, Enjoys the whole Revenue of the *Bishoprick of Dunblane*, by Grant from K. *William*.

But from the whole of this *Story*, there is a *Useful Lesson*, to shew what it is will *Please* some sort of People. For when K. *Char. I.* had *Granted* all that they did *Desire*, or could Invent for their *Security*, even to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*, and, as this Author Quotes my Lord *Clarendon's History*, *Whatsoever else they were Pleas'd to present to him, concerning Church or State, so that he seem'd to have made that Progress into Scotland, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom*; Inasmuch that they *Declar'd* they had no more to *Ask*, and that he left them, as the Phrase then went, a *Contented King* from a *Contented People*; and on that Occasion Renew'd their *Vows and Assurances* of *Perpetual Loyalty*, &c. Yet all the use they made of these *Condescensions* of His Majesty, and the *Power* which he had put into their *Hands*, was to *Raise* an *Army* against him, and follow him into *England*, in *Conjunction* with their *Good Brethren* there, who were in *Rebellion* against him; and *Declaring* that they would not be *Satisfied* till the same thing was done in *England*, That *Episcopacy* should be *Abolished*, and the whole *Power* put into the *Hands* of the *Faction* there, as has been done in *Scotland*. Which you may see in the said Lord *Clarendon's History*, Vol. 2. p. 283, 292, 295, &c.

This shews how far any *Party*, that contends for *Power*, will be contented with a certain *Share* of it!

XIII.
What will
Please the
Dissenters?

The Pro-
ceeding of
the Parli-
ament of
Scotland,
1703.
Printed
1704.
P. 20.

Yet the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, even then when they were at the Higheſt in the *Reign* of *K. Char. I.* And afterwards, when having Murther'd him, they had the whole *Government* in their own Hands, did not in all that time go the Length that they have done now in *Scotland*, to make it *High Treason* to *Speak*, *Al*, or *Write* in Defence of *Episcopacy*, or againſt *Presbyterian* Government in the *Church*.

So that we ſee, as Men Grow Older, they grow Wiſer in Miſchief, as well as in Vertue! We ſay, *Uſe* makes *Perſect*. And the longer Men have *Practis'd Rebellion*, they come to their Work more *Expedite*ly! Theſe Men have already Iſſued *Declarations*, Renouncing *Q. Ann* (as beforemention'd) becauſe She has Promis'd to ſupport *Episcopacy* in *England*; into which they are reſolv'd to bring their *Covenant*, and *Presbytery*, as they did before; which their *Predeceſſors* in *Forty-One*, did not ſo much as pretend to, in the Beginning of their *Infurrection*. Their Party was not then ſo well *Fix'd*, nor had that *Power* in *England*, as they think they have *Now*!

XIV.
How far
the
Whiggs
and Diſ-
ſenters
were con-
cerned in
the Mur-
ther of *K.*
Char. I.

But Leaving this Melancholly Subject to the *Wiſdom* of our *Superiours*, I go on to Examine the Ground and Foundation of the *Whig-Loyalty*, which this Author Inſiſts upon, That they have always deteſted the *Barbarous Murther* of *K. Char.* Some of the *Presbyterians*, tho' not many, have ſpoke againſt it. And on that *Head*, have Endeavour'd to Reſent themſelves as *Loyal Men*. Therefore it is fit every Reader ſhould know the Truth of that Matter, which is this;

That ſome time before the *Murther* of *K. Char. I.* The *Independent* Party, and *Oliver* at the Head of them, had *Out-trick'd*, and *Worm'd-out* the *Presbyterians*, by the like *Artifices*; as they before *Outed* the *Cavaliers*: This Enrag'd the *Presbyterians* beyond all Meaſure, to find themſelves *Over-mitted* and *Supplanted*, by thoſe whom they taught to *Rebel*. And as great *Violence* was ſhew'd by theſe Parties againſt one another (calling each other *Seſtaries*, *Pirſidious*, *Treacherons*, *Betrayers* of the *Rights* of the *People*, &c.) as either of them had before Spew'd out againſt the *Church* or the *Crown*.

In

In this falling out of *Thieves*, the *Church* gain'd so much, That those Arguments, which she had made use of against the *Presbyterians*, of Causeless Separation, and Breaking the *Unity* of the *Church*, were Urg'd by the *Presbyterians*, with Greater Violence against the *Independents*, whom they call'd *Sectaries*, Disturbers of the *Peace* of *Jerusalem*, &c. And on the other hand, all the Pretences which the *Presbyterians* had set up against the *Bishops*, of Assuming *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, and Lording it over their Brethren, were Retorted with Advantage, by the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and their *Classical* Constitution; whose Little Finger was shew'd to be Thicker than the Loins of *Episcopacy*.

And as to the *King*, each endeavour'd to Blacken the other, with that Part of the *Rebellion*, which was separately their Share. The *Presbyterians* laid the *King's Death* upon the *Independents*. The *Independents* said, they Kill'd no *King*. That the *Presbyterians* had long before Un-King'd him, and Despoil'd him of all Marks of *Royalty*, had Reduc'd him perfectly to a *Private Person*, and carry'd him up and down a *Prisoner*, for the Shew of the *People*! That the *Independents* had indeed, at last, Mump'd the *Presbyterians* of him, and made their own Advantage of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Presbyterians* had Design'd; And were now Enrag'd to see others, and their Younger Brother, Reap the Fruit of all their Labours.

Upon this Head, it is not to be Forgot, which is told in the *New Assoc. Par. 2. p. 25*. But nothing Reply'd to it in this *Occasional Letter*, That the *General Assembly* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, did by their Declaration Dated *July 31, 1648*, Condemn the Resolution of the *Scots-Parliament*, which still Remain'd so Loyal, as to Raise an Army for the Rescue of the *King* out of the Hands of his Murtherers; which they did, and sent it into *England*, under the Command of *Duke Hamilton*, this was commonly call'd, The *Duke's Engagement*. Which Engagement, the *General Assembly*, by their Declaration aforesaid, did call an Unlawful Engagement, and Thunder'd out their *Anathema's* against it; as they Afterwards when the *King* was Murther'd, put all those to Open Penance, with the utmost Rigour, who had been concern'd in it; to shew, That they were no way Aiding or Assisting to his Death! But the very next Day after this their Declaration

ration against the Duke's Engagement, viz. On the first of August, 1648, they Issued a Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in England, wherein they Address themselves to the King, in these Words, *Albeit Your Majesty, through the Suggestions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of Us, and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Consciences bear Record unto Us, that we bear in our Spirits those Humble and Dutiful Respects of Your Majesty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign, And that it would be our Greatest Contentment upon Earth, to see Your Majesty Reigning, &c.*

And as if this had not been Enough, they Eleven Days after, viz. On the 12th of the same August, 1648, sent their Humble Supplication to the King, wherein they tell him, *That they were very sensible of His Majesty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the least measure, Approve, but from their Hearts Abhor any thing that had been done to His Majesty's Person; And that they did not oppose his Majesty's Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal Power, &c.*

And yet, at the same time, they Protested against His Majesty's being Admitted to come to any of his Houses, in or near London, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, as they had Stipulated for him, when they had Sold him (for it was the Presbyterian Faction only, and not the Nation which did it) or for Concluding any Treaty or Agreement with Him till he had first taken the Covenant, Abolish'd Episcopacy in England, as he had done in Scotland; Turn'd out all whom they call'd Malignants, that is, all his Friends who had been True to him; And put the whole Power into the Hands of the Godly, who had Rais'd the Rebellion against him!

I have Transcrib'd this out of *New Assoc.* because no Notice is taken of it in the *Answer*. And perhaps there is not to be found in *History*, such another Instance of *Perfidy*, and Sanctify'd Hypocrisie! Except in what I am next to tell you, of their Dealing with K. Char. II. Of which they still continue to Boast!

If K. Char. I. Would have turn'd Presbyterian, have Destroy'd the Church, and Reveng'd the Presbyterians upon the Independents, then the Presbyterians, having no other Game to Play, would have let him live a little Longer, till they could have done their own Business

Business without him, and set up their *Common-Wealth* in the State as well as the Church.

And I doubt not but the *Independents* would have done the same, if they had been *Hew'd* down by the *Presbyterians*; And that they cou'd have made the King a Tool to have set them in the *Saddle* again. The like would the *Ana-Baptists*, or any other of the then *Seſtaries* have done, if it had been their Case; And have had as much Cause to *Boast* of their *Loyalty*, as the *Presbyterians*! But the *Deſtruction* of the Church was the *Cauſa ſine qua non* with them All. None of them would have the King *Preſerv'd* upon any other *Terms*. They all *Agreed* in that *Point*, tho' they *Quarrell'd* with one another, about *Dividing* of the *Spoil*, and ſetting up their own *Different Models*. But *Episcopacy* was their *Common Enemy*.

Let the *Diſſenters* of ſeveral Sorts, Divide the *Murther* of the King among them. They were All *Guilty* of it. The *Presbyterians* began the *Rebellion* againſt him, and brought him to the *Block*: And juſt as they were ready to ſtrike the *Stroke*, the *Independents* ſnatch'd the *Ax* out of their Hands, and did it Themſelves. There is no Difference betwixt *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, the one is in order to the other. In vain therefore do theſe *Rebels* lay the *Murther* of the King upon one Another! One *Diſ-Arms* him; Another *Binds* him; And a Third *Cuts* his *Throat*! Which are moſt *Guilty*? Even all alike! However it is among the *Diſſenters* and *Whigs*. If it was not they, Who elſe did it? I hope they will not ſay it was the *Biſhops*, or the *Cavaliers*. That it was the Church which Led them into *This* too! Their *Diſ-owning* of this *Fact*, renders them *Self-Condemn'd* as to all the *Pretences* of their *Rebellion*, that eſpecially of the *Power* in the *People*, which was the *Foundation* of All the Reſt. For that *Principle* muſt either *Juſtifie* the *Regicide* or *Condemn* the *Rebellion*. Their *Pretences* to *Loyalty* has Involv'd them paſt all *Poſſibility* of *Escape*! A *Half-fac'd Rebel* can never hold it out. They ſtand ſurer, when they own the *Whole Truth*, That they are *Thorough-pac'd*, even to the *Height* of the *Calves-Head-Club*. For then they have ſome *Principle* to go upon, be it *True* or *False*. And we know, That many *Well-meaning Men* have been *Seduc'd*, through *Weakneſs* of *Judgment*, by *False Principles*, and *Specious*

ous Pretences. But when they come to see their *Error*, they Return *Wholly* and *Heartily*, and not by *Halves*. They have an *Indignation* against themselves, for their former *Evil Courses*, and Endeavour to make *Amends*. They do not *Palliate* or *Excuse*, but rather *Aggravate* their *Guilt*. This is the Condition of all True *Penitents*. And there is nothing more *Christian*, or more *Glorious*! But a *Snivelling Laodicean*, who will neither own his *Principle*, nor *Dis-own* it; who would keep his *Principle*, but would not be Answerable for the *Effects* of it; such an one is the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of *God* and *Man*, and fit only to be *Spew'd* out of their *Mouth*, out of all *Conversation* and *Esteem*! Especially, when not *Forc'd* to it by *Hardships* and *Persecution*; for tho' there is no *Excuse* for *Sin*, yet Great *Allowances* must be made for *Humane Infirmities*, by those who are likewise in the *Flesh*, lest they themselves also be *Tempted*. But there is no such *Temptation* now in the way of our *Presbyterians*, Expose their Guilty *Loyalty* in the Year 1648. And to *Re-print*, as they have just now done, a *Sheet*, they say, was *Printed* then, Entitul'd, *The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of Themselves from the Horrid and Detestable Murther of K. Char. of Glorious Memory*. Re-printed, 1704. Where p. 5. They lay the *Cause* of the *Miseries* and *Destruction* of those *Civil Wars* (which they do not call *Rebellion*) upon the *Woeful Miscarriages* of the *King Himself*, which they say, were *Many and very Great*. Was this to make his *Memory GLORIOUS*! Is this a *Vindication* of their *Loyalty*? To throw all the *Blood* of their own *Cursed Rebellion* upon the *King*!

XV. No less *Shameful* are the *Boasts* they now make of their *Loy-*
 Of the alty to K. Char. II. which is Repeated in this *Occasional Letter*,
 Presbyterians be- and Apply'd to the *Whigs* in General, p. 29. who (as is there
 ing Instru- said) were *Instrumental in Restoring K. Char. II. and who have al-*
 mental in ways *Detested the Barbarous Murther of his Royal Father*.
 the Resto- Now if this were True, it can be said only of the *Presbyte-*
 ration of rian *Whigs*, when they were *Kick'd* out by the *Independent Whigs*.
 K. Ch. II. So then the *Prevailing Party* were *Whigs* still.

But now as to the *Presbyterians* Carriage in this Affair, they being under *Hatches*, could find no way to *Retrieve* themselves, but

but to try if they could make a *Presbyterian*, and a *Property* of the Young King; and thereby gain the Advantage of the Royal Name on their Side against their *Enemies*, the *Independents*. And the *Presbyterian Party* still Prevailing in *Scotland*, thence sent *Commissioners* to Treat with the King then at *Breda*. And he having Agreed (thro' the Necessity of his Affairs) to all the Insolent *Articles* sent to him by the *Parliament* and the *General Assembly*, he came into *Scotland*, in the Year 1650, about two Months after they had, in a most *Infamous* manner Hang'd the Glorious *Marquess of Montrose*, His Majesty's *Commissioner* and *General*, as an Earnest what he himself was to Expect!

But now behold their *Truth* and *Sincerity*! As soon as they had got the King into their Hands, they consider'd him as their *Prisoner*, and a *Victim* to the *Good Old Cause*. The *Commission* of the *General Assembly* publish'd a Paper I have now before me, and was afterwards Printed in the Year 1653. Entitul'd, *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland, &c.* Where p. 52, 53, they assign'd this as one of the Causes, *The Authorizing of Commissioners to Close a Treaty with the King, for the Investing him with the Government, upon his Subscribing such Demands as were sent to him.* And coming to Answer the Objection that he had done all that was Demanded of him by the *Parliament* of this Kingdom, and the *Commission* of the *General Assembly*; to which we Reply (say they, p. 55.) *That those Demands were Deficient.* And that a *Paper* and *Verbal Security* was not sufficient. And that to settle with him upon such *Paper Securities*, and accordingly to *Intrust* him, was but to *Mock God*, and to *Deceive the World*, and to *Betray* and *Destroy* our selves. For they Pretended to know his Heart, and give this as one Reason why it was not Sound, p. 57 *That when he did condescend to subscribe the Demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a Reserve of a Declaration to be Printed therewith, which he did not pass from, until the Commissioners of the Church did Refuse to admit thereof.* If we had this Declaration, it might in some Measure, alleviate the King's Sin in taking that Cursed Covenant. But he was Young, and willing to be at Home. In the same Page they fall upon the *Parliament* of *Scotland* for their over-forward *Loyalty*, as one of the *Causes* of *God's Wrath*, *That the News of the late King's Death* being brought to *Edinburgh* as on the *Lord's Day* that Night, the *Par-*

liament did the next day, before Twelve of the Clock, Proclaim this King with all Publick Solemnity, without setting any Time apart to seek the Lord for Counsel and Direction therein.

The meaning of their seeking the Lord

Yet they say, p. 58. Albeit they durst not altogether deny duty to be in making Application to the King; yet did the Sense of the Lord's Controversie with him and his House, together with his walking in his former way, lie heavy on their Spirits, and made them rather fear a Curse, than expect a Blessing thereupon.

How! Fear a Curse for Performing what they Confess to be their Duty! Is there not more Cause to Fear a Curse for not doing our Duty? But these Men, as the Quakers, think nothing that is Commanded in Holy Scripture to be their Duty, unless it be Commanded by their own Spirit ANEW. The Quakers Learn'd this Doctrine from them. And indeed, all Enthusiasm, when Pursu'd to the Fountain, is the same. They Pray not for Grace to Resist Temptations against their Duty; but, like Balaam, in things which God has already Commanded, they Ask new Counsel and Advice, whether it be His Will or not? And when they find a strong Inclination for what they have a Mind to, this is the Answer of God to them! And they Proceed accordingly. And this they call Seeking of the Lord! Thus Oliver Pretended to Seek the Lord, and went to Prayer, when the King was carried to the Scaffold, And said the Lord had Answer'd, That he must Die. Some of the Regicide Pleaded the same at their Tryals, That they Sought the Lord for what they did.

Some have Sought the Lord to know whether Fornication was a Sin? And being Answer'd by Impulses, have been Perswaded, even to Argue and Write in Defence of it, and make Profelytes to it. And too many have they made. Thus of Robbery, Lying, and Cheating. And thus of Schism, of Sacrilege, and of Rebellion. Who ever heard among all the Long-winded Prayers of the Dissenters, one Petition to save them from the Sin of Rebellion, or of Sacrilege? No. They know no such Sins! In their Assembly's Annotations upon the whole Bible, Printed 1646, they could find no such Sins in all the Holy Writ! No Sacrilege in the Sin of Achan, of Belsazzar, of Ananias and Saphira. And indeed there is no such Sin, if seizing upon the Revenues of the Church, nay

may upon the *Churches* themselves, and things *Consecrated* to *Holy Uses*, be not it! We cannot *Rob GOD* in *Person*. But in the *Persons* of His *Priests*, and in things *Dedicated* to His *Service*. And we *Rebel* against *God*, when we *Rebel* against his *Vicegerents*, those *Lawful Kings* and *Governours* whom He has set over Us.

But if he will *Dispense* with us, in these *Small Matters*, we will be as *Good* to *Him* another way! We will *Preach* against *Sabbath-Breaking*, even to *Judaizing*! We will *Abhor Idols*, if He will let us *Commit Sacrilege*! We will make as *Long Prayers* as the *Heathen*, if we may *Devour Widows Houses*, set the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, and take the *Plunder* to our selves! We will *Rebel*, and *Perjure* our selves for the *Glory* of the *Lord*! And we will *seek* to *Him* in every thing, and not give over our *Importunity*, till we find His *Answer* in our *Hearts*!

But to go on with our *Story*, *Oliver* was then in *Scotland*, at the *Head* of an *Army* against them and their *King*, And *Expostulating* with them for their *Back-sliding* from the *Principles* of the *Good Old Cause*, in setting up a *King*; They to obviate this, and satisfy, or *Gull* their *Brethren* the *Independents*, fram'd a *Declaration* for the *King* to *Sign*, wherein he shou'd lay the *Blood* and *Guilt* of the whole *Rebellion*, upon his *Father* and *Himself*; and *Justifie* the *Loyalty* and *Godly Intentions* of the *Saints* who had *Fought* against them; and *Promis'd* to *Root out Episcopacy* in *England*, as well as *Scotland*. To *Discard* all *Malignants*, &c. I have *Annex'd* that *Declaration*, *Append. N. 1.* because it is not *Preserv'd* in any of our *Histories* that I know of.

The *King* refus'd to *Sign* this, as he had very good *Reason*. Whereupon the *Commission* of the *General Assembly* met at the *West Kirk*, at *Edinburgh*, and drew up the *Declaration* hereunto likewise *Annex'd*, commonly call'd *The Act of the VVest Kirk*, Wherein they *Renounce* the *King* and his *Cause*, upon any other *Terms*. And they oblig'd the *Committee* of *Estates*, then sitting, to *Ratify* the same. And order'd the *General* of their *Army* to send this *Declaration* to *Oliver*, as the *Ground* of their *Quarrel*, supposing the *King* should comply with it; which *Letter* is likewise *Annex'd*.

The *King* finding himself thus *deserted*, and *Betray'd*, and nothing else to save him from *Immediate Ruin*, and being deliver'd up, as his *Father*, into the *Hands* of his *Implacable Enemies*,

mies, did at last Prevail with himself to Sign the Declaration. Which yet did not satisfy the *Presbyterians*. For in the aforesaid Remonstrance of their General Assembly, p. 57. They lay this upon him, That he did for a long time Refuse to Subscribe the Declaration which was Tender'd to him, for the Acknowledging of his own, and his Parents Guiltiness for the time past, and according to his Duty for the time to come; And after that he had, with a great deal of Reluctancy, subscribed the same, he did oftentimes Express, That he did not think his Father Guilty of Blood, and that notwithstanding he had so declared, he had his own Meaning thereof.

And as the Manner of his Signing this Declaration did not Please the *Presbyterians*, for that was Impossible! As little did it satisfy the *Independents*, when it was Sign'd, or Reconcile them to the *Presbyterians*; for the Contest then was betwixt these two Parties for the Power. And they Bang'd the *Presbyterians* heartily at Dunbar, whose Word that Day was the Covenant. The best Victory ever the King Lost!

But the *Presbyterians*, after this Defeat, sought to Revenge themselves upon the King, and Press'd upon him other Acts more Shameful and Outragious; which the King Resolutely Refusing, seeing no end of their Encroachments, was Threatned with no less than the laying Hands upon His Person, which forc'd him to fly for the saving of his Life, to his Northern Friends and Forces under General Middleton; where he Treated with the *Presbyterians* at a Distance, and had Hostages given on both Sides for Performance of Articles; one of which was, that he should be forthwith Crown'd, as was stipulated with him at Breda; But nothing less Intended by the *Presbyterians* all this time, till they had sufficiently Peel'd all Royalty from him. But it was perform'd in a very Uncouth manner, January the First, 1651. Mr. Robert Douglas from the General Assembly, Preaching the Coronation Sermon full of Treason before him, (which is in Print) telling him what sort of a Covenanted King they had made him. And the Old Marquess of Argyle supplied the Place of the Arch-bishop, in setting the Crown upon his Head, and giving his Benediction.

The August following, 1651, the King March'd into England. And the *Independents* kept a Watchful Eye upon the *Presbyterians*.

ans in London, then hoping to get into the Saddle again. And that same Month, one Mr. Love, a Presbyterian Minister was Executed, for Correspondence with the King and the Presbyterians. His Tryal was Printed, which I have Read, with the manner of his Execution, and his Speech upon the Scaffold, which was Exceeding Long, and full of Cant. In it he took special Care, to Free himself and the Presbyterians from the least Tergiversation from the Good Old Cause, or the Scandal of being thought to Repent of their Rebellion and Actings against K. Char. I. Which he Vindicated to the last. This is their Royal Martyr, of whom they have made such Boasts! And of whom the Dissenters Answer to the High-Church Challenge, lately Printed, 1704. says, p. 43. I assure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr. Christopher Love, a Presbyterian Minister, Beheaded An. 1653. (it should be 1651.) For the Horrid Phanatick Plot, Contriv'd for the bringing in, as they then call'd him, Charles Staart, and the Restoring of Monarchy. But how comes this to be a Vindication of the Dissenters and Phanaticks? Were they not such who put Mr. Love to Death? But if it clear not the Dissenters in general, yet it do's the Presbyterians. As we have seen—To make use of the Name of a King for their own Ends, Divesting him, at the same time, of the Power of a King; and Justifying all their Treasons against his Martyr'd Father! And laying all the Blood and Misery which Attended their Un-natural Rebellion upon his Head, as the Dissenting Ministers Vindication beforementioned likewise do's. There is a Reason, why our Dissenters keep the Fifth of November, for that was a Popish Plot; But not the 30th of January (excepting in their Calves-Head Solemnities) for that plainly lies among the Dissenters, let 'em shove it from one to Another as they Please! And if they had that Horror and Detestation for that Execrable Murder, as they sometimes Pretend, to serve a Turn, they would not Revile and Ridicule it, as they do, calling it a Madding Day, and such like Tokens of their Respect, which they shew Us every Day in Print. And we know how their Party struggled hard in the House of Commons, since the Revolution, to have the Observation of this Day laid aside. And why so? If they thought it no Reproach to them? If they were perfectly Innocent of it?

But:

But to give the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* all the Advantage they would have, suppose that Part of them, call'd *Presbyterians*, had been really against the *Murder* of K. *Char. I.* And for the setting up of his Son K. *Char. II.* As this had been no Justification of the *Rest*; so neither would it be any *Proof* of the *Loyalty* or *Monarchichal Principles*, even of these *Presbyterians*. For Mens *Actions* are no certain *Proof* of their *Principles* (except of those who *Voluntary Suffer* for them) where there is an *Apparent Temptation* for them in the way of *Advantages* to be made by it, as these *Presbyterians* had, in the setting up K. *Char. II.* Thereby to *Regain* that *Power* which the *Independents* had taken from them, and used *Rigorously* over them. But they shew'd their *Aversion* to *Monarchy*, tho' thus forc'd to make use of it, by those *Unworthy Limitations* before *Mention'd* which they put upon it, in the Person of this *King*.

Mens *Principles* are only known when they *Act Freely*; without *Compulsion* or *Temptation*. In Times of *Persecution*, Men have *Renounc'd* that *Faith*, which notwithstanding they did *Firmly Believe*; And others have been *Brib'd* to *Act* quite Opposite to their own *Sentiments*. But where no such *byass* is in the Way, Men are to be *Distinguish'd* by their known and avow'd *Principles*.

Now let the *Whigs* or *Dissenters*, or any of them, shew any one *Principle* of *Loyalty* that they have, or any *Notion* of *Government* that is consistent with *Monarchy*, or indeed with any settl'd *Frame* or *Constitution*: Or any *Principle* of *Treason*, of *Perpetual Rebellion* and *Revolution*, which they have not; and they will shew the World a *Discovery*! When they had the *Power* in their own Hands, they *Supplanted* and *Kick'd* out one another, without *Intermission*; and all upon the same *Foot* of *Power* in the *People*; till their own *Confusions* brought in *Order* and *Restoration* of the *Antient Government* and *Monarchy*.

And so much for their *Loyalty* at this time.

XVI.
of Occa-
sional Con-
formity.

I come now to a New *Notion* and *Reason* for *Occasional Conformity*, that I have met with no where else but in this *Occasional Letter*, which coming to Answer the *Objection* of those who Receive the *Sacrament OCCASIONALLY* in the *Church*, and afterwards *Rail* at her, do's Justifie it, with this Reason, p. 25.

For

For as I take it, the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in. This is a very Extraordinary Reason! For the H. Sacrament is the very Tessera and Bond of Christian Unity and Love, which is Exemplified in the Unity of the several Corns in one Loaf, as the Apostle speaks, We being Many, are one Bread, and one Body, 1 Cor. x. 17. Now sure the Members of the same Body, ought, at least, to be True to one another, and to the Body.

But to Lessen the Horrour of this Position, which seems a Dissolution of all Christian Faith and Charity, I must not conceal a Salvo he brings in for it, which yet is no Salvo at all, but brought in meerly to Amuse! For when he says, That the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in, He adds, So much as to be Faithful to his God.

Now, what is the Meaning of this? Is it not God who Requires Us to keep that Bond of Unity and Love, of which the H. Sacrament is a Symbol? And is it not being Unfaithful to God, not to be True to this?

May not the same be said in any Church, or Communion, where a Man Receives the Sacrament? And so, it is not any Bond of Unity, or so much as Truth in any Church! What then? It may be made Use of in Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, to Undermine and Destroy that Church, under the most Sacred Symbols of Truth and Love, even the very Body of Christ! It is Frightful to Repeat this! When the Holy Kiss went along with this Sacrament, wou'd it not be a Judas-Kiss, which such an Occasional Conformist shou'd give to his Fellow-Communicants, with whom he thought not himself United, and sought their Undoing, and the Ruin of that Church, with whom he did Communicate!

By this sort of Salvo, a Man may Securely vent all the Treason and Wickedness in the World! For Example, I owe not Obedience or Truth to my Prince, — So much as to God! To be Faithful or Just to Man — So much as to God! And so, not to be True to the Church, tho' I Receive the Body and Blood of Christ with her; and, in that Sense, do Pawn them to her, for my Truth and Fidelity to her, and my Unity with her! And all is Solv'd, by saying, Not so much as to be faithful to my God!

Whither

Whither will Men *Wander*, when they seek to *Defend* what Themselves know to be *Wicked*! When they give Themselves up to the *Drudgery* of *Writing* for a *Party*, which they must *Support*, *Right* or *Wrong*! When they have no *Principles* left, but to serve *Present Turns*!

XVII. What else is it cou'd make this *Author* *Insinuate*, as if no *Treason* cou'd be *Committed* against *K. Char. II.* Or ought not to have been *Punish'd*. For, p. 27. he calls those *Very Innocent Men*, who suffer'd for the *Rye-House-Conspiracy*, and *Confess'd* it at their *Deaths*. And *Slanders* some *Parliaments* *since*: as if they had said the same. His Reason must be, because their *Attainders* were *Revers'd*, as of *Walcot*, &c. In the Beginning of this *Revolution*. Tho' the same *Walcot*, as others, did *Confess* themselves *Guilty* of the *Design'd Assassination* of the *King* and *Duke*, and utter *Subversion* of the *Government*, both in *Church* and *State*, even when they were at the *Gallows*. The *Attainders* likewise of *Argyle*, and others, who openly *Invaded Scotland*, to the *Reign* of *K. Jam. II.* were taken off in that *Country*. But may not a *Guilty Man* be *Pardon'd*, or his *Attainder* *Revers'd* after his *Death*, for the *Benefit* of his *Heirs*? Do's not this rather suppose him to have been *Guilty*? Else what need of a *Pardon*? But did any of these *Parliaments* *Declare* them to have been *very Innocent Men*, as this *Author* *Infers*? The *Consequence* of which wou'd have been, That no *Treason* cou'd have been committed against *K. Char.* or *K. Jam.* But only against *K. Will.* Did not *K. Char. II.* *Pardon* some of the very *Regicides*? Did he therefore think them *very Innocent Men*, who *Murder'd* his *Father*? But these *Men* think, that it is no *Treason* to *Depose* or *Murder* an *Hereditary King*; as not being the *Peoples King*! This is our *Author's Doctrine*, if I can make *Sence* of it. But he has full *Liberty* to *Explain* himself. Which we expect in his *Next*.

He goes on and *Accuses* *K. Cha. II.* of *Tyranny*, for the few that were *Executed* in the *Rye-House-Plot*, and proposes it as a *Frightful Example* to after *Ages*. For *Quoting* out of the *New-Assoc.* how easily that *Faction* was subdued by *K. Char. II.* after the *Rye-House-Plot*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, only by *shewing his Authority*, and letting them see he was not afraid of them

them (tho' they boasted as much of their *Numbers* and *Power* in the *Country* as they do now) this *Author* Answers, p. 26. But if he would have spoke out, the same Measures must be, preparing *Axes* and *Gallows*; for that was the Method which was then taken. These *Axes* and *Gallows* run strangely in this *Man's* Mind! Has he any *Qualms*? He will have the *Dissenters* Hang'd whether we will or no! But they were not all Hang'd then that did *Deserve* it. If more had been, some had been sav'd from the *Guilt* of *Rebellion* a *Second* time! But as it was not that *King's* Design, nor, I dare say, any *Body's* now, to have all this *Sett* of *People* *Destroy'd*; only *Dis-arm'd* from doing farther *Mischief*, by having no *Power* put into their *Hands*; so where any thing is Touch'd upon that *Point*, they have no *Defence* to make, but that *Sensless* and *Invidious Clamour*, to say that the *Design* is to have them all *Extirpated*! As if there was no *Medium* betwixt that, and putting the *Sword* into their *Hands*! That they might *Extirpate* Us!

But to shew you some more of his *No-Principles*, he falls upon the *Author* of *New Assoc.* for an Expression (which I cannot find in the Place he Quotes, which is p. 24.) wherein he happen'd to say, *The Rebellion of the Sevenois*, and Hews him down for calling those *People* *Rebels*. Now Sir, perhaps that *Author* was one of the *Jure-Divino-Men*, who think it not *Lawful* upon any *Pretence* whatsoever, to take *Arms*, &c. As our *Laws* once spoke. And in that Case, Sir, you should have afforded him some *Reason* to open his *Understanding*, besides calling these a *Poor distressed People*. Perhaps he thinks so as well as you. And the more, for what he calls their *Rebellion*; which has Render'd them much more *Miserable* than they were before. He will say, that he Pities all *People* in *Distress*, and is an *Enemy* to *Persecution*. But he may be apt to Ask, whether the *Protestants* in *Hungary* were not *Persecuted*, and *Terms* broken with them, and had not as much *Right* to take *Arms* for their own *Preservation*, as the *Sevenois*? And how then came these to be *Rebels*, more than the *Sevenois*? Do's their *Success* alter the *Justice* of the *Cause*? Or their being a *Disturbance* to the *Emperor*, who is one of our *Allies*? If so, we go not upon *Principles*, but upon what makes *For* us, or *Against* us! And Sir, this makes us very *Contemptible* to those *People* who Pretend to *Principles*; And gives them

XVIII.
Their No-
tion of Re-
bellion.

them Opportunity to think that we have none. Therefore in your next, Please to Clear this Matter a little more, and for the Future, beware of giving such *Handles* against the *Cause* you wou'd Maintain; That you be not thought a *True Tom-Double*, either set down your *Principles*, and *stand by them*; or else *Renounce* them; but do not *Betray* them.

XIX. And if you would not Despise a little *Help*, I offer this *Method* to your Consideration, to get over all this Matter more easily. Let then the *Sevenoish* be *Rebels*, equal to the *Hungarians*, or not, upon the Point of *Principle*: Yet the Case of *War* alters the thing, as to *Us*. Who knows not, that *War* makes many things *lawful*, which otherwise are not so? Even to stir up *Rebellion* and *Sedition* in our Enemies Country; as they wou'd serve *Us*, if they cou'd. Tho' I know, that Men of Strict *Principles* do *Object* against this *Method*. But we have the *Practice* of the World on our side! Therefore, we will Beat down the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and call them *Rebels*, because they are against our *Al- lie*; and we will support the *Sevenoish*, and they shall not be *Rebels*, because we are at War with *France*. The One are *Rebels*, and the other are not, as to *Us*, however it be as to *Themselves*! Let them look to that!

The Seve-
noish clear'd
from Re-
bellion.

And who can Deny, but that *War* will Justifie this *Method* with *Subjects*, when it do's as to *Kings* themselves! Who would not Pull down a *King* he is at *War* with, and Own, or dis-own his Title, as serves best for our *Turn*? We did own *Philip* of *Spain* before the *War*; What then? And tho' he was set-up upon the Foot of the *People*, and Recogniz'd by the *Cortexe*, or *Parliament*, by the *Grandeess*, and visibly, to all *Appearance*, by the *Generality* of the *People*; and is now King *de Facto*; And, as far as the *Peo- ple* can give him a Right, *de Jure* too; What of all this? By the Unquestionable *Prerogative* of *War*, have we not Reduc'd him to plain *Duke* of *Anjou* again; And set up the *de Jure* of *Char. III.* by *Inheritance*, against the *de Facto* of *Philip* by the *People*? And tho' this was not done at the Beginning of the *War*, nor was the *Cause* of the *War*; And that even since the *War* was Proclaim'd, our *Gazettes* did own *Philip* as *King* of *Spain*; All that makes nothing to the Matter, For in *War*, we must take our own *Time*; we are not to be Directed by our *Enemies*!

Sir, I leave it to you, Whether this do's not *Solve* all these *Ob- jections*. Cleverly. And by the *Principles* of *War*! So that you need.

need not be Afraid to go on with these Men upon *Principles*. You must always set up one *Principle* against another. And *War* makes every thing *Lawful*, it makes *Robbery* to be *Plunder*, and *Killing* no *Murder*, and why not *King* and *No King*! Remember that your *Scene* is in *War*, and you are safe in your *Entrenchments*!

But I would not Advise you to make such Desperate *Salies* as you do, and where you are sure to be beaten Back. You throw your *Flail* about so *Heedlessly*, that you may Beat out your own *Brains* with it. What need had you, in the very next *Paragraph*, to that above Quoted, p. 28. to make so *Severe* a *Reflection* upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for his *Praying*, with *David*, to *Scatter the People that Delight in War*, and would *Entail it upon Us and Our Posterities*? XX.
This Au-
thor an E-
nemy to
Peace.

Is it not a Good *Prayer*? And must not every Good *Christian*, and True *English-man*, say *Amen* to it? But you are very *Angry* with it, and say *Ironically* of it, *A kind Reflection indeed! An Agent for France* could have said little more. Pray, Sir, How is *France* concern'd? Is *Praying* against *People that Delight in War*, speaking in Favour of *France*? Is it not *France* that would *Entail War* upon *Us*? And is speaking against such, being an *Agent* for *France*? You will give *Us* a New Notion of *France*? Is not the *French King* Apparently the Cause of the *War*? Is not He the *Aggressor*? And must not the *Blood* Shed then lie upon Him? *A kind Reflection indeed!* But it seems, this *Author* is an *Agent*, for *Some* he knows, who *Delight in War*, and would *Entail it*— against whom we *Pray* every Day in our *Churches*, That *God* would *Abate their Pride*, *Assuage their Malice*, and *Confound their Devices*.

Postscript to *LEGION*. New-Vamp'd *MILLION*.

Gentlemen,
WHO Subscribe your Selves *Devils*, saying, *Our Name is Legion*, for we are *Many*. You have been call'd *Round-heads*, *Whiggs*, and such like *Nick-Names*; But we knew not your true *Name*, till your *Godfathers* have now told *Us*! And if you had not been *Possess'd*, you would never have taken such a *Name* to your selves. But you think to *Frighten Us* with your *Numbers*, and now Subscribe your selves *MILLION*, and more.

Your

You wou'd Reduce Us to the *Indian Religion*, to *Worship* the *Devil* for *Fear*. Is this your *Reformation*!

And as to your *Numbers*, none can take it to be any thing else but an *Empty Brag*, while we see the *House of Commons* is against you: And how better can the *Sense* of the *Nation* be known?

And your now falling Foul upon the *House of Commons*, who are the *Representatives* of the *People*; and taking Sanctuary with the *Lords*, who are Created *Arbitrarily*, at the *Meer Will* and *Pleasure* of the *King*, is a total Overthrow of your *Foundation-Principle* of the *Power* in the *People*. Whose *Choice* you like not so well as whom the *King* has *Chose*; Yet you Rail at *Prerogative*!

Upon your Foot, the *People* shou'd have *Power* to Turn out their *Representatives*, whenever they are *Displeas'd* with them; And to *Choose* others, by their own *Authority*; To meet *When*, and *Where*, and as *Often* as they *Please*. And to be *Accountable* to the *People*.

But it was never so in *England*, or any where else. Nor indeed can be. It wou'd be perfect *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Therefore you *Whigs*, or *Devils*, have given a *Demonstrative Proof* against your own *Pretences* of *Power* in the *People*.

And if you cannot Solve these things, you can no longer be *Believ'd* by any Man of *Common Sense*. But, to Pursue your own *Allusion*, your *Legion* must be turn'd into the *Herd* of *Swine*, those *Beasts* of the *People*; who being once *Possess'd* with *You*, Run *Headlong* to their own *Destruction*.

And now, my *Little Devils*, I'll tell you a Story. The *Secretary* of *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Thurlo*, being Ask'd by a *Noble Peer* (whom I can Name) soon after the *Restoration*, 1660. How it came to pass, That their Party being *Possess'd* of the *People* and the *Power*, came so *Unaccountably* to lose *Both*, as it were in a *Moment*? Mr. *Thurlo* Answer'd, That it was chiefly owing to the *Cavalier-Pamphlets*. And tho', said he, those wrote on our Side were much more *Numerous*, having the *Countenance* and *Encouragement* of the *Government*; yet, I must confess, That the other wrote for the *Royal Cause*, had the *Wit* and the *Argument* of Us. They expos'd what the *People* at last *Felt*, the *Oppression*, the *Giddiness*, and *Unstableness* of *Government*, upon the Foot of the *People*. And all our *Authority* cou'd not keep our Ground against it.

The Application, Gentlemen, is *Easie*. If you cannot Learn to speak *Sense*, if you will set up *Principles* which you cannot *Maintain*; and then *Act* in *Direct Opposition* to them; tho' you have all the *Connivance* (at least) of the *Government* to *Write* on, without *Controul*; And that the *People* have been hitherto even *Bewitch'd*, (a *Second* time) with your *Pretences* of *Liberty* and *Property*; Yet their *Eyes* will be open'd by the Force of *Truth* and *Experience*. And you sent to the *Place* from whence you came. And the *Nation* Rescu'd from the *Fatality* you have brought upon them, of being a *Kingdom Divided* against *it self*. And which cannot *Stand*, unless your *Leven* be *Purg'd* out of it.

F I N I S.